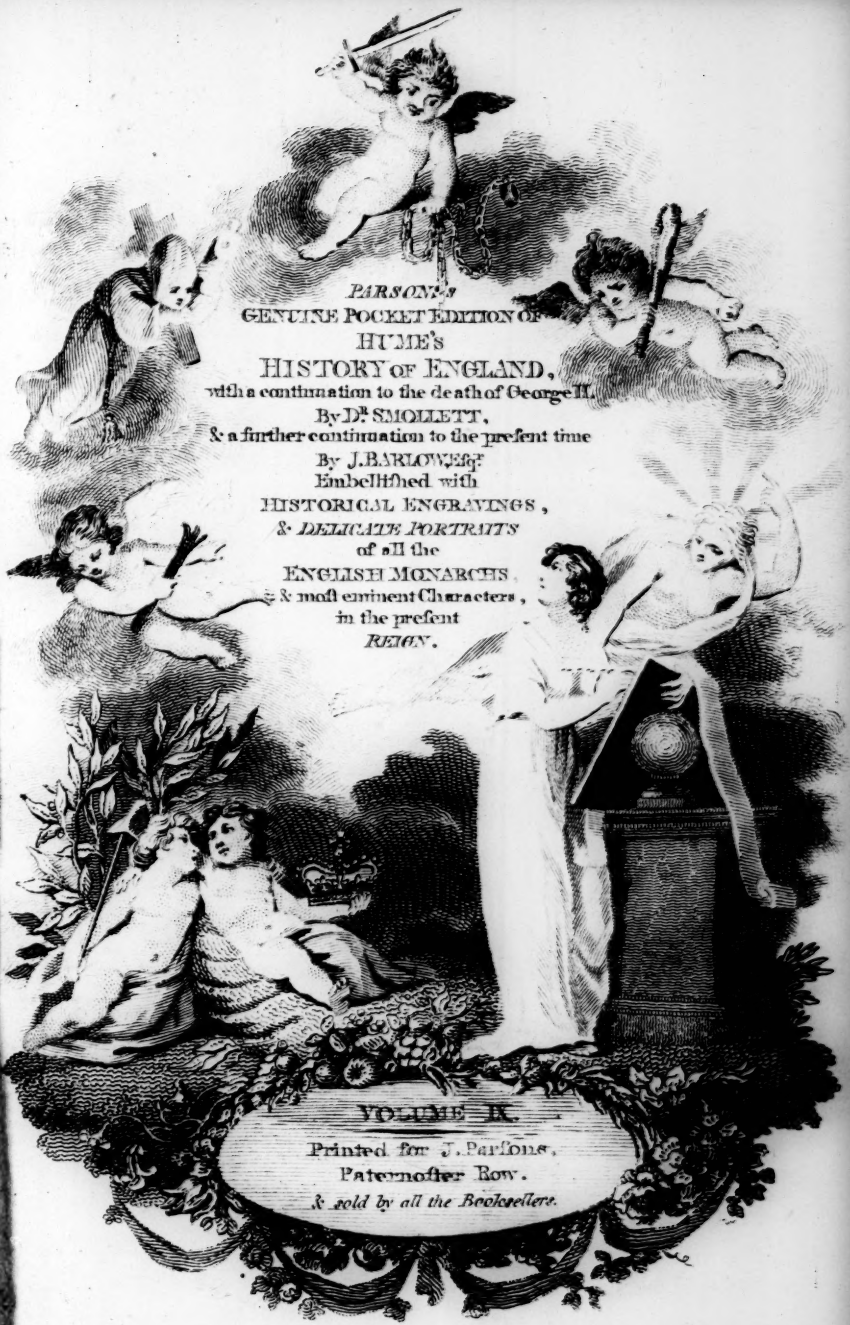

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TO

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THE

Hiſtory of Great Britain.

CHAP. LX.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

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THE confuſions which overſpread England after the murder of Charles I. proceeded as well from the ſpirit of refinement and innovation, which agitated the ruling party, as from the diſſolution of all that authority, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, by which the nation had ever been accuſtomed to be governed. Every man had framed the model of a republic; and, however new it was, or fantaſtical, he was eager in recommending it to his fellow-citizens, or even impoſing it by force upon them. Every man had adjuſted a ſyſtem of religion, which being derived from no traditional authority, was peculiar to himſelf; and being founded on ſuppoſed inſpiration, not on any principles of human reaſon, had no means, beſides cant and low rhetoric, by which it could recommend itſelf to others. The levellers inſiſted on an equal diſtribution of power and property, and diſclaimed all dependance and ſubordination. The millenarians or fifth-monarchy-men required, that government itſelf ſhould be aboliſhed, and all human powers be laid in the duſt, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Chriſt, whoſe ſecond coming they ſuddenly

expected. The Antinomians even inſiſted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were ſuſpended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle more perfect and divine, were ſuperior to the *beggarly elements* of juſtice and humanity. A conſiderable party declaimed againſt tithes and hireling prieſthood, and were reſolved that the magiſtrate ſhould not ſupport by power or revenue any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Another party inveighed againſt the law and its profeſſors; and on pretence of rendering more ſimple the diſtribution of juſtice, were deſirous of aboliſhing the whole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence, which ſeemed interwoven with monarchical government. Even thoſe among the republicans who adopted not ſuch extravagancies, were ſo intoxicated with their ſaintly character, that they ſuppoſed themſelves poſſeſſed of peculiar privileges; and all profeſſions, oaths, laws, and engagements, had, in a great meaſure, loſt their influence over them. The bands of ſociety were every-where looſened; and the irregular paſſions of men were encouraged by ſpeculative principles, ſtill more unſocial and irregular.

The royaliſts, conſiſting of the nobles and more conſiderable gentry, being degraded from their authority and plundered of their property, were inflamed with the higheſt reſentment and indignation againſt thoſe ignoble adverſaries, who had reduced them to ſubjection. The preſbyterians, whoſe credit had firſt ſupported the arms of the parliament, were enraged to find that, by the treachery or ſuperior cunning of their aſſociates, the fruits of all their ſucceſsful labours were raviſhed from them. The former party, from inclination and principle, zealouſly attached themſelves to the ſon of their unfortunate monarch, whoſe memory they reſpected, and whoſe tragical death they deplored. The latter caſt their eye towards the ſame object; but they had ſtill many prejudices to overcome, many fears and jealouſies to be allayed, ere they could cordially entertain thoughts of reſtoring the family, which they had ſo grievouſly offended, and whoſe principles they regarded with ſuch violent abhorrence.

The

The only ſolid ſupport of the republican independent faction, which, though it formed ſo ſmall a part of the nation, had violently uſurped the government of the whole, was a numerous army of near fifty thouſand men. But this aamy, formidable from its diſcipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a ſpirit that rendered it dangerous to the aſſembly which had aſſumed the command over it. Accuſtomed to indulge every chimera in politics, every frenzy in religion, the ſoldiers knew little of the ſubordination of citizens, and had only learned, from apparent neceſſity, ſome maxims of military obedience. And while they ſtill maintained, that all thoſe enormous violations of law and equity, of which they had been guilty, were juſtified by the ſucceſs with which Providence had bleſſed them; they were ready to break out into any new diſorder, wherever they had the proſpect of a like ſanction and authority.

What alone gave ſome ſtability to all theſe unſettled humours was, the great influence both civil and military acquired by Oliver Cromwel. This man, ſuited to the age in which he lived, and to that alone, was equally qualified to gain the affection and confidence of men, by what was mean, vulgar, and ridiculous in his character; as to command their obedience by what was great, daring, and enterpriſing. Familiar even to buffoonery with the meaneſt centinel, he never loſt his authority: Tranſported to a degree of madneſs with religious ecſtaſies, he never forgot the political purpoſes to which they might ſerve. Hating monarchy, while a ſubject; deſpiſing liberty, while a citizen; though he retained for a time all orders of men under a ſeeming obedience to the parliament; he was ſecretly paving the way, by artifice and courage, to his own unlimited authority.

The parliament, for ſo we muſt henceforth call a ſmall and inconſiderable part of the houſe of commons, having murdered their ſovereign with ſo many appearing circumſtances of ſolemnity and juſtice, and ſo much real violence and even fury, began to aſſume more the

air of a civil, legal power, and to enlarge a little the narrow bottom upon which they ſtood. They admitted a few of the excluded and abſent members, ſuch as were liable to leaſt exception; but on condition that theſe members ſhould ſign an approbation of whatever had been done in their abſence with regard to the king's trial: And ſome of them were willing to acquire a ſhare of power on ſuch terms: The greater part diſdained to lend their authority to ſuch apparent uſurpations. They iſſued ſome writs for new elections, in places where they hoped to have intereſt enough to bring in their own friends and dependants. They named a council of ſtate, thirty-eight in number, to whom all addreſſes were made, who gave orders to all generals and admirals, who executed the laws, and who digeſted all buſineſs before it was introduced into parliament *. They pretended to employ themſelves entirely in adjuſting the laws, forms, and plan of a new repreſentative; and as ſoon as they ſhould have ſettled the nation, they profeſſed their intention of reſtoring the power to the people, from whom they acknowledged they had entirely derived it.

The commonwealth found every thing in England compoſed into a ſeeming tranquillity by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themſelves, had no leiſure or inclination to interpoſe in the domeſtic diſſenſions of this iſland. The young king, poor and neglected, living ſometimes in Holland, ſometimes in France, ſometimes in Jerſey, comforted himſelf amidſt his preſent diſtreſſes with the hopes of better fortune. The ſituation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate inquietude to the new republic.

* Their names were, the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Saliſbury, lords Grey and Fairfax, Liſle, Rolls, St. John, Wilde, Bradſhaw, Cromwel, Skippon, Pickering, Maſſam, Haſelrig, Harrington, Vane jun. Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Conſtable, Pennington, Wilſon, Whitlocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Hevingham, Wallop, Hutchinſon, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Pureſoy, Jones.

After

After the ſucceſſive defeats of Montroſe and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, that party which was moſt averſe to the intereſts of the royal family. Their enmity, however, againſt the independents, who had prevented the ſettlement of preſbyterian diſcipline in England, carried them to embrace oppoſite maxims in their political conduct. Though invited by the Engliſh parliament to model their government into a republican form, they reſolved ſtill to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the expreſs terms of their covenant, they had engaged to defend. They conſidered beſides, that as the property of the kingdom lay moſtly in the hands of great families, it would be difficult to eſtabliſh a commonwealth, or without ſome chief magiſtrate, inveſted with royal authority, to preſerve peace or juſtice in the community. The execution, therefore, of the king, againſt which they had always proteſted, having occaſioned a vacancy of the throne, they immediately proclaimed his ſon and ſucceſſor, Charles II.; but upon condition "of his good behaviour and ſtrict "obſervance of the covenant, and his entertaining no "other perſons about him but ſuch as were godly men "and faithful to that obligation." Theſe unuſual clauſes, inſerted in the very firſt acknowledgment of their prince, ſufficiently ſhowed their intention of limiting extremely his authority. And the Engliſh commonwealth, having no pretence to interpoſe in the affairs of that kingdom, allowed the Scots for the preſent to take their own meaſures in ſettling their government.

The dominion which England claimed over Ireland, demanded more immediately their efforts for ſubduing that country. In order to convey a juſt notion of Iriſh affairs, it will be neceſſary to look backwards ſome years, and to relate briefly thoſe tranſactions which had paſt during the memorable revolutions in England. When the late king agreed to that ceſſation of arms with the popiſh rebels *, which was become ſo requiſite,

* 1643.

as

as well for the ſecurity of the Iriſh proteſtants as for promoting his intereſts in England, the parliament, in order to blacken his conduct, reproached him with favouring that odious rebellion, and exclaimed loudly againſt the terms of the ceſſation. They even went ſo far as to declare it entirely null and invalid, becauſe finiſhed without their conſent; and to this declaration the Scots in Ulſter, and the earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munſter, profeſſed to adhere. By their means the war was ſtill kept alive; but as the dangerous diſtractions in England hindered the parliament from ſending any conſiderable aſſiſtance to their allies in Ireland, the marquis of Ormond, lord-lieutenant, being a native of Ireland, and a perſon endowed with great prudence and virtue, formed a ſcheme for compoſing the diſorders of his country, and for engaging the rebel Iriſh to ſupport the cauſe of his royal maſter. There were many circumſtances which ſtrongly invited the natives of Ireland to embrace the king's party. The maxims of that prince had always led him to give a reaſonable indulgence to the catholics throughout all his dominions; and one principal ground of that enmity, which the puritans profeſſed againſt him, was this tacit toleration. The parliament, on the contrary, even when unprovoked, had ever menaced the papiſts with the moſt rigid reſtraint, if not a total extirpation; and immediately after the commencement of the Iriſh rebellion, they put to ſale all the eſtates of the rebels, and had engaged the public faith for transferring them to the adventurers, who had already advanced money upon that ſecurity. The ſucceſs, therefore, which the arms of the parliament met with at Naſeby, ſtruck a juſt terror into the Iriſh; and engaged the council of Kilkenny, compoſed of deputies from all the catholic counties and cities, to conclude a peace with the marquis of Ormond *. They profeſſed to return to their duty and allegiance, engaged to furniſh ten thouſand men for the ſupport of the king's authority in England, and were

* 1646.

content

content with ſtipulating, in return, indemnity for their rebellion and toleration of their religion.

Ormond, not doubting but a peace, ſo advantageous and even neceſſary to the Iriſh, would be ſtrictly obſerved, advanced with a ſmall body of troops to Kilkenny, in order to concert meaſures for common defence with his new allies. The pope had ſent over to Ireland a nuncio, Rinuccini, an Italian; and this man, whoſe commiſſion empowered him to direct the ſpiritual concerns of the Iriſh, was emboldened, by their ignorance and bigotry, to aſſume the chief authority in the civil government. Foreſeeing that a general ſubmiſſion to the lord-lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, he conſpired with Owen O'Neal, who commanded the native Iriſh in Ulſter, and who bore a great jealouſy to Preſton, the general chiefly truſted by the council of Kilkenny. By concert, theſe two malcontents ſecretly drew forces together, and were ready to fall on Ormond, who remained in ſecurity, truſting to the pacification ſo lately concluded with the rebels. He received intelligence of their treachery, made his retreat with celerity and conduct, and ſheltered his ſmall army in Dublin and the other fortified towns, which ſtill remained in the hands of the proteſtants.

The nuncio, full of arrogance, levity, and ambition, was not contented with this violation of treaty. He ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare againſt that pacification, which the civil council had concluded with their ſovereign. He even thundered out a ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould adhere to a peace, ſo prejudicial, as he pretended, to the catholic religion; and the deluded Iriſh, terrified with his ſpiritual menaces, ranged themſelves every-where on his ſide, and ſubmitted to his authority. Without ſcruple, he carried on war againſt the lord-lieutenant, and threatened with a ſiege the proteſtant garriſons, which were, all of them, very ill provided for defence.

Meanwhile, the unfortunate king was neceſſitated to take ſhelter in the Scottiſh army; and being there reduced

duced to close confinement, and secluded from all commerce with his friends, despaired, that his authority, or even his liberty, would ever be restored to him. He sent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than to the Irish rebels; and accordingly the lord-lieutenant, being reduced to extremities, delivered up Dublin, Tredah, Dundalk, and other garrisons, to colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament. Ormond himself went over to England, was admitted into the king's presence, received a grateful acknowledgment for his past services, and during some time lived in tranquillity near London. But being banished, with the other royalists, to a distance from that city, and seeing every event turn out unfortunately for his royal master, and threaten him with a catastrophe still more direful, he thought proper to retire into France, where he joined the queen and the prince of Wales.

In Ireland, during these transactions, the authority of the nuncio prevailed without control among all the catholics; and that prelate, by his indiscretion and insolence, soon made them repent of the power with which they had entrusted him. Prudent men likewise were sensible of the total destruction, which was hanging over the nation from the English parliament, and saw no resource or safety but in giving support to the declining authority of the king. The earl of Clanricarde, a nobleman of an ancient family, a person too of merit, who had ever preserved his loyalty, was sensible of the ruin which threatened his countrymen, and was resolved, if possible, to prevent it. He secretly formed a combination among the catholics; he entered into a correspondence with Inchiquin, who preserved great authority over the protestants in Munster; he attacked the nuncio, whom he chased out of the island; and he sent to Paris a deputation, inviting the lord-lieutenant to return and take possession of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, found the kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or secret enmity prevailed. The authority of the

the Engliſh parliament was eſtabliſhed in Dublin, and the other towns, which he himſelf had delivered into their hands. O'Neal maintained his credit in Ulſter; and having entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the parliamentary generals, was more intent on ſchemes for his own perſonal ſafety than anxious for the preſervation of his country or religion. The other Iriſh, divided between their clergy, who were averſe to Ormond, and their nobility, who were attached to him, were very uncertain in their motions and feeble in their meaſures. The Scots in the north, enraged, as well as their other countrymen, againſt the uſurpations of the ſectarian army, profeſſed their adherence to the king; but were ſtill hindered by many prejudices from entering into a cordial union with his lieutenant. All theſe diſtracted councils and contrary humours checked the progreſs of Ormond, and enabled the parliamentary forces in Ireland to maintain their ground againſt him. The republican faction, meanwhile, in England, employed in ſubduing the revolted royaliſts, in reducing the parliament to ſubjection, in the trial, condemnation, and execution of their ſovereign, totally neglected the ſupplying of Ireland, and allowed Jones and the forces in Dublin to remain in the utmoſt weakneſs and neceſſity. The lord-lieutenant, though ſurrounded with difficulties, neglected not the favourable opportunity of promoting the royal cauſe. Having at laſt aſſembled an army of 16,000 men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garriſons. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied againſt their governor. Tredah, Neury, and other forts, were taken. Dublin was threatened with a ſiege; and the affairs of the lieutenant appeared in ſo proſperous a condition, that the young king entertained thoughts of coming in perſon into Ireland.

When the Engliſh commonwealth was brought to ſome tolerable ſettlement, men began to caſt their eyes towards the neighbouring iſland. During the conteſt of the two parties, the government of Ireland had remained a great object of intrigue; and the preſbyterians endeavoured

deavoured to obtain the lieutenancy for Waller, the independents for Lambert. After the execution of the king, Cromwel himself began to aspire to a command, where so much glory, he saw, might be won, and so much authority acquired. (March 15.) In his absence, he took care to have his name proposed to the council of state; and both friends and enemies concurred immediately to vote him into that important office: The former suspected, that the matter had not been proposed merely by chance, without his own concurrence; the latter desired to remove him to a distance, and hoped, during his absence, to gain the ascendant over Fairfax, whom he had so long blinded by his hypocritical professions. Cromwel himself, when informed of his election, feigned surprise, and pretended at first to hesitate with regard to the acceptance of the command. And Lambert, either deceived by his dissimulation, or in his turn feigning to be deceived, still continued, notwithstanding this disappointment, his friendship and connexions with Cromwel.

The new lieutenant immediately applied himself with his wonted vigilance to make preparations for his expedition. Many disorders in England it behoved him previously to compose. All places were full of danger and inquietude. Though men, astonished with the successes of the army, remained in seeming tranquillity, symptoms of the greatest discontent every-where appeared. The English, long accustomed to a mild administration, and unacquainted with dissimulation, could not conform their speech and countenance to the present necessity, or pretend attachment to a form of government, which they generally regarded with such violent abhorrence. It was requisite to change the magistracy of London, and to degrade, as well as punish, the mayor and some of the aldermen, before the proclamation for the abolition of monarchy could be published in the city. An engagement being framed to support the commonwealth without king or house of peers, the army was with some difficulty brought to subscribe it; but though it was imposed upon the rest of the nation under se-

vere

vere penalties, no leſs than putting all who refuſed out of the protection of law; ſuch obſtinate reluctance was obſerved in the people, that even the imperious parliament was obliged to deſiſt from it. The ſpirit of fanaticiſm, by which that aſſembly had at firſt been ſtrongly ſupported, was now turned, in a great meaſure, againſt them. The pulpits, being chiefly filled with preſbyterians, or diſguiſed royaliſts, and having long been the ſcene of news and politics, could by no penalties be reſtrained from declarations unfavourable to the eſtabliſhed government. Numberleſs were the extravagances which broke out among the people. Everard, a diſbanded ſoldier, having preached that the time was now come when the community of goods would be renewed among chriſtians, led out his followers to take poſſeſſion of the land; and being carried before the general, he refuſed to ſalute him; becauſe he was but his fellow-creature. What ſeemed more dangerous, the army itſelf was infected with like humours *. Though the levellers had for a time been ſuppreſſed by the audacious ſpirit of Cromwel, they ſtill continued to propagate their doctrines among the private men and inferior officers, who pretended a right to be conſulted, as before, in the adminiſtration of the commonwealth. They now practiſed againſt their officers the ſame leſſon which they had been taught againſt the parliament. They framed a remonſtrance, and ſent five agitators to preſent it to the general and council of war: Theſe were caſhiered with ignominy by ſentence of a court-martial. One Lockier, having carried his ſedition farther, was ſentenced to death; but this puniſhment was ſo far from quelling the mutinous ſpirit, that above a thouſand of his companions ſhowed their adherence to him, by attending his funeral, and wearing in their hats black and ſea-green ribbons by way of favours. About four thouſand aſſembled at Burford, under the command of Thomſon, a man formerly condemned for ſedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the general. (May.) Colonel Rey-

* See note [A] at the end of the volume.

nolds, and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwel, fell upon them, while unprepared for defence, and ſeduced by the appearance of a treaty. Four hundred were taken priſoners: Some of them capitally puniſhed: The reſt pardoned: And this tumultuous ſpirit, though it ſtill lurked in the army, and broke out from time to time, ſeemed for the preſent to be ſuppreſſed.

Petitions, framed in the ſame ſpirit of oppoſition, were preſented to the parliament by lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, the perſon who, for diſperſing ſeditious libels, had formerly been treated with ſuch ſeverity by the ſtar-chamber. His liberty was at this time as ill reliſhed by the parliament, and he was thrown into priſon, as a promoter of ſedition and diſorder in the commonwealth. The women applied by petition for his releaſe; but were now deſired to mind their houſehold affairs, and leave the government of the ſtate to the men. From all quarters, the parliament was haraſſed with petitions of a very free nature, which ſtrongly ſpoke the ſenſe of the nation, and proved how ardently all men longed for the reſtoration of their laws and liberties. Even in a feaſt, which the city gave to the parliament and council of ſtate, it was deemed a requiſite precaution, if we may credit Walker and Dugdale, to ſwear all the cooks, that they would ſerve nothing but wholeſome food to them.

The parliament judged it neceſſary to enlarge the laws of high treaſon beyond thoſe narrow bounds, within which they had been confined during the monarchy. They even comprehended verbal offences, nay intentions, though they had never appeared in any overt-act againſt the ſtate. To affirm the preſent government to be an uſurpation, to aſſert that the parliament or council of ſtate were tyrannical or illegal, to endeavour ſubverting their authority, or ſtirring up ſedition againſt them; theſe offences were declared to be high treaſon. The power of impriſonment, of which the petition of right had bereaved the king, it was now found neceſſary to reſtore to the council of ſtate; and all the jails in England were filled with men whom the jealouſies and fears of the ruling party had repreſented as dangerous. The taxes, con-

continued by the new government, and which, being unuſual, were eſteemed heavy, increaſed the general ill-will under which it laboured. Beſides the cuſtoms and exciſe, ninety thouſand pounds a-month were levied on land for the ſubſiſtence of the army. The ſequeſtrations and compoſitions of the royaliſts, the ſale of the crown lands, and of the dean and chapter lands, though they yielded great ſums, were not ſufficient to ſupport the vaſt expenſes, and, as was ſuſpected, the great depredations, of the parliament and of their creatures.

Amidſt all theſe difficulties and diſturbances, the ſteady mind of Cromwel, without confuſion or embarraſſment, ſtill purſued its purpoſe. While he was collecting an army of twelve thouſand men in the weſt of England, he ſent to Ireland, under Reynolds and Venables, a reinforcement of four thouſand horſe and foot, in order to ſtrengthen Jones, and enable him to defend himſelf againſt the marquis of Ormond, who lay at Finglaſs, and was making preparations for the attack of Dublin. Inchiquin, who had now made a treaty with the king's lieutenant, having, with a ſeparate body, taken Tredah and Dundalk, gave a defeat to Offarrell who ſerved under O'Neal, and to young Coot who commanded ſome parliamentary forces. After he had joined his troops to the main army, with whom, for ſome time, he remained united, Ormond paſſed the river Liffy, and took poſt at Rathmines, two miles from Dublin, with a view of commencing the ſiege of that city. In order to cut off all farther ſupply from Jones, he had begun the reparation of an old fort which lay at the gates of Dublin; and being exhauſted with continual fatigue for ſome days, he had retired to reſt, after leaving orders to keep his forces under arms. (2d Auguſt.) He was ſuddenly awaked with the noiſe of firing; and, ſtarting from his bed, ſaw every thing already in tumult and confuſion. Jones, an excellent officer, formerly a lawyer, had ſallied out with the reinforcement newly arrived; and, attacking the party employed in repairing the fort, he totally routed them, purſued the advantage, and fell in with the army, which had neglected Ormond's orders. Theſe he ſoon

threw into diſorder; put them to flight, in ſpite of all the efforts of the lord-lieutenant; chaſed them off the field; ſeized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing a thouſand men, and taking above two thouſand priſoners.

This loſs, which threw ſome blemiſh on the military character of Ormond, was irreparable to the royal cauſe. That numerous army which, with ſo much pains and difficulty, the lord-lieutenant had been collecting for more than a year, was diſperſed in a moment. Cromwel ſoon after * arrived in Dublin, where he was welcomed with ſhouts and rejoicings. He haſtened to Tredah. That town was well fortified: Ormond had thrown into it a good garriſon of three thouſand men, under ſir Arthur Aſton, an officer of reputation. He expected that Tredah, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin, would firſt be attempted by Cromwel, and he was deſirous to employ the enemy ſome time in that ſiege, while he himſelf ſhould repair his broken forces. But Cromwel knew the importance of deſpatch. Having made a breach, he ordered a general aſſault. (September.) Though twice repulſed with loſs, he renewed the attack, and himſelf, along with Ireton, led on his men. All oppoſition was overborne by the furious valour of the troops. The town was taken ſword in hand; and orders being iſſued to give no quarter, a cruel ſlaughter was made of the garriſon. Even a few, who were ſaved by the ſoldiers, ſatiated with blood, were next day miſerably butchered by orders from the general. One perſon alone of the garriſon eſcaped to be a meſſenger of this univerſal havoc and deſtruction.

Cromwel pretended to retaliate by this ſevere execution the cruelty of the Iriſh maſſacre: But he well knew, that almoſt the whole garriſon was Engliſh; and his juſtice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all other garriſons from reſiſtance. His policy, however, had the deſired effect. Having led the army without delay to Wexford, he began to batter the town. The garriſon,

* 15th Auguſt,

after

after a ſlight defence, offered to capitulate; but, before they obtained a ceſſation, they imprudently neglected their guards; and the Engliſh army ruſhed in upon them. The ſame ſeverity was exerciſed as at Tredah.

Every town before which Cromwel preſented himſelf, now opened its gates without reſiſtance. Roſs, though ſtrongly garriſoned, was ſurrendered by lord Taffe. (October.) Having taken Eſtionage, Cromwel threw a bridge over the Barrow, and made himſelf maſter of Paſſage and Carric. The Engliſh had no farther difficulties to encounter than what aroſe from fatigue and the advanced ſeaſon. Fluxes and contagious diſtempers creeped in among the ſoldiers, who periſhed in great numbers. Jones himſelf, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwel had ſo far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to ſubſiſt in the enemy's country, or retreat to his own garriſon. (November.) But while he was in theſe ſtraits, Corke, Kinſale, and all the Engliſh garriſons in Munſter, deſerted to him, and opening their gates, reſolved to ſhare the fortunes of their victorious countrymen.

This deſertion of the Engliſh put an end to Ormond's authority, which was already much diminiſhed by the misfortunes at Dublin, Tredah, and Wexford. The Iriſh, actuated by national and religious prejudices, could no longer be kept in obedience by a proteſtant governor, who was ſo unſucceſsful in all his enterpriſes. The clergy renewed their excommunications againſt him and his adherents, and added the terrors of ſuperſtition to thoſe which aroſe from a victorious enemy. Cromwel, having received a reinforcement from England, again took the field early in the ſpring. He made himſelf maſter of Kilkenny and Clonmel, the only places where he met with any vigorous reſiſtance. The whole frame of the Iriſh union being in a manner diſſolved, Ormond ſoon after left the iſland, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs ſo deſperate as to admit of no remedy. The Iriſh were glad to embrace baniſh-

ment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men paſſed into foreign ſervice; and Cromwel, well pleaſed to free the iſland from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the Engliſh, gave them full liberty and leiſure for their embarkation.

While Cromwel proceeded with ſuch uninterrupted ſucceſs in Ireland, which in the ſpace of nine months he had almoſt entirely ſubdued, fortune was preparing for him a new ſcene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague when ſir Joſeph Douglas brought him intelligence that he was proclaimed king by the Scottiſh parliament. At the ſame time, Douglas informed him of the hard conditions annexed to the proclamation, and extremely damped that joy which might ariſe from his being recogniſed ſovereign in one of his kingdoms. Charles too conſidered, that thoſe who pretended to acknowledge his title, were at that very time in actual rebellion againſt his family, and would be ſure to entruſt very little authority in his hands, and ſcarcely would afford him perſonal liberty and ſecurity. As the proſpect of affairs in Ireland was at that time not unpromiſing, he intended rather to try his fortune in that kingdom, from which he expected more dutiful ſubmiſſion and obedience.

Meanwhile he found it expedient to depart from Holland. The people in the United Provinces were much attached to his intereſts. Beſides his connexion with the family of Orange, which was extremely beloved by the populace, all men regarded with compaſſion his helpleſs condition, and expreſſed the greateſt abhorrence againſt the murder of his father; a deed to which nothing, they thought, but the rage of fanaticiſm and faction could have impelled the parliament. But though the public in general bore great favour to the king, the States were uneaſy at his preſence. They dreaded the parliament, ſo formidable by their power, and ſo proſperous in all their enterpriſes. They apprehended the moſt precipitate reſolutions from men of ſuch violent and haughty diſpoſitions. And, after the murder of Doriſlaus,

riſlaus, they found it ſtill more neceſſary to ſatisfy the Engliſh commonwealth, by removing the king to a diſtance from them.

(1650.) Doriſlaus, though a native of Holland, had lived long in England; and being employed as aſſiſtant to the high court of juſtice, which condemned the late king, he had riſen to great credit and favour with the ruling party. They ſent him envoy to Holland; but no ſooner had he arrived at the Hague, than he was ſet upon by ſome royaliſts, chiefly retainers to Montroſe. They ruſhed into the room, where he was ſitting with ſome company; dragged him from the table; put him to death as the firſt victim to their murdered ſovereign; very leiſurely and peaceably ſeparated themſelves; and though orders were iſſued by the magiſtrates to arreſt them, theſe were executed with ſuch ſlowneſs and reluctance, that the criminals had all of them the opportunity of making their eſcape.

Charles, having paſſed ſome time at Paris, where no aſſiſtance was given him, and even few civilities were paid him, made his retreat into Jerſey, where his authority was ſtill acknowledged. Here Winram, laird of Liberton, came to him as deputy from the committee of eſtates in Scotland, and informed him of the conditions to which he muſt neceſſarily ſubmit before he could be admitted to the exerciſe of his authority. Conditions more ſevere were never impoſed by ſubjects upon their ſovereign; but as the affairs of Ireland began to decline, and the king found it no longer ſafe to venture himſelf in that iſland, he gave a civil anſwer to Winram, and deſired commiſſioners to meet him at Breda, in order to enter into a treaty with regard to theſe conditions.

The earls of Caſſilis and Lothian, lord Burley, the laird of Liberton, and other commiſſioners, arrived at Breda; but without any power of treating: The king muſt ſubmit, without reſerve, to the terms impoſed upon him. The terms were, that he ſhould iſſue a proclamation, baniſhing from court all excommunicated perſons, that is, all thoſe who, either under Hamilton or Montroſe, had ventured their lives for his family; that no

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Engliſh ſubject who had ſerved againſt the parliament ſhould be allowed to approach him; that he ſhould bind himſelf by his royal promiſe to take the covenant; that he ſhould ratify all acts of parliament, by which preſbyterian government, the directory of worſhip, the confeſſion of faith, and the catechiſm, were eſtabliſhed; and that in civil affairs he ſhould entirely conform himſelf to the direction of parliament, and in eccleſiaſtical to that of the aſſembly. Theſe propoſals, the commiſſioners, after paſſing ſome time in ſermons and prayers, in order to expreſs the more determined reſolution, very ſolemnly delivered to the king.

The king's friends were divided with regard to the part which he ſhould act in this critical conjuncture. Moſt of his Engliſh counſellors diſſuaded him from accepting conditions ſo diſadvantageous and diſhonourable. They ſaid that the men who now governed Scotland were the moſt furious and bigotted of that party, which, notwithſtanding his gentle government, had firſt excited a rebellion againſt the late king; after the moſt unlimited conceſſions, had renewed their rebellion, and ſtopped the progreſs of his victories in England; and after he had entruſted his perſon to them in his uttermoſt diſtreſs, had baſely ſold him, together with their own honour, to his barbarous enemies: That they had as yet ſhown no marks of repentance, and even in the terms which they now propoſed, diſplayed the ſame antimonarchical principles, and the ſame jealouſy of their ſovereign, by which they had ever been actuated: That nothing could be more diſhonourable than that the king, in his firſt enterpriſe, ſhould ſacrifice, merely for the empty name of royalty, thoſe principles for which his father had died a martyr, and in which he himſelf had been ſtrictly educated: That by this hypocriſy he might loſe the royaliſts, who alone were ſincerely attached to him; but never would gain the preſbyterians, who were averſe to his family and his cauſe, and would aſcribe his compliance merely to policy and neceſſity: That the Scots had refuſed to give him any aſſurances of their intending to reſtore him to the throne of England; and could they even

even be brought to make such an attempt, it had sufficiently appeared, by the event of Hamilton's engagement, how unequal their force was to so great an enterprise: That on the first check which they should receive, Argyle and his partisans would lay hold of the quickest expedient for reconciling themselves to the English parliament, and would betray the king, as they had done his father, into the hands of his enemies: And that however desperate the royal cause, it must still be regarded as highly imprudent in the king to make a sacrifice of his honour, where the sole purchase was to endanger his life or liberty.

The earl of Laneric, now duke of Hamilton, the earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party, who had been banished their country for the late engagement, were then with the king; and being desirous of returning home in his retinue, they joined the opinion of the young duke of Buckingham, and earnestly pressed him to submit to the conditions required of him. It was urged, that nothing would more gratify the king's enemies than to see him fall into the snare laid for him, and by so scrupulous a nicety, leave the possession of his dominions to those who desired but a pretence for excluding him: That Argyle, not daring so far to oppose the bent of the nation as to throw off all allegiance to his sovereign, had embraced this expedient, by which he hoped to make Charles dethrone himself, and refuse a kingdom which was offered him: That it was not to be doubted but the same national spirit, assisted by Hamilton and his party, would rise still higher in favour of their prince after he had entrusted himself to their fidelity, and would much abate the rigour of the conditions now imposed upon him: That whatever might be the present intentions of the ruling party, they must unavoidably be engaged in a war with England, and must accept the assistance of the king's friends of all parties, in order to support themselves against a power so much superior: That how much soever a steady, uniform conduct might have been suitable to the advanced age and strict engagements of the late king, no one would throw any blame on a young

prince

prince for complying with conditions which neceſſity had extorted from him: That even the rigour of thoſe principles profeſſed by his father, though with ſome it had exalted his character, had been extremely prejudicial to his intereſts; nor could any thing be more ſerviceable to the royal cauſe, than to give all parties room to hope for more equal and more indulgent maxims of government: And that where affairs were reduced to ſo deſperate a ſituation, dangers ought little to be regarded; and the king's honour lay rather in ſhowing ſome early ſymptoms of courage and activity, than in chuſing ſtrictly a party among theological controverſies, with which, it might be ſuppoſed, he was as yet very little acquainted.

Theſe arguments, ſeconded by the advice of the queen-mother and of the prince of Orange, the king's brother-in-law, who both of them thought it ridiculous to refuſe a kingdom merely from regard to epiſcopacy, had great influence on Charles. But what chiefly determined him to comply was the account brought him of the fate of Montroſe, who, with all the circumſtances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen. Though in this inſtance the king ſaw more evidently the furious ſpirit by which the Scots were actuated, he had now no farther reſource, and was obliged to grant whatever was demanded of him.

Montroſe, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired into France, and, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, had lived for ſome time unactive at Paris. He there became acquainted with the famous cardinal de Retz; and that penetrating judge celebrates him in his Memoirs as one of thoſe heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch. Deſirous of improving his martial genius, he took a journey to Germany, was careſſed by the emperor, received the rank of mareſchal, and propoſed to levy a regiment for the Imperial ſervice. While employed for that purpoſe in the Low Countries, he heard of the tragical death of the king; and at the ſame time received from his young maſter a renewal of his commiſſion of captain-general in Scotland.

Scotland. His ardent and daring ſpirit needed but this authority to put him in action. He gathered followers in Holland and the north of Germany, whom his great reputation allured to him. The king of Denmark and duke of Holſtein ſent him ſome ſmall ſupply of money: The queen of Sweden furniſhed him with arms: The prince of Orange with ſhips: And Montroſe, haſtening his enterpriſe, leſt the king's agreement with the Scots ſhould make him revoke his commiſſion, ſet out for the Orkneys, with about 500 men, moſt of them Germans. Theſe were all the preparations which he could make againſt a kingdom, ſettled in domeſtic peace, ſupported by a diſciplined army, fully appriſed of his enterpriſe, and prepared againſt him. Some of his retainers having told him of a propheſy, that *to him and him alone it was reſerved to reſtore the king's authority in all his dominions*; he lent a willing ear to ſuggeſtions which, however ill-grounded or improbable, were ſo conformable to his own daring character.

He armed ſeveral of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, though an unwarlike people, and carried them over with him to Caithneſs; hoping that the general affection to the king's ſervice, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the Highlanders flock to his ſtandard. But all men were now haraſſed and fatigued with wars and diſorders: Many of thoſe who formerly adhered to him, had been ſeverely puniſhed by the covenanters: And no proſpect of ſucceſs was entertained in oppoſition to ſo great a force as was drawn together againſt him. But however weak Montroſe's army, the memory of paſt events ſtruck a great terror into the committee of eſtates. They immediately ordered Leſley and Holborne to march againſt him with an army of 4000 men. Strahan was ſent before, with a body of cavalry to check his progreſs. He fell unexpectedly on Montroſe, who had no horſe to bring him intelligence. The royaliſts were put to flight; all of them either killed or taken priſoners; and Montroſe himſelf, having put on the diſguiſe of a peaſant, was perfidiouſly delivered into the hands

hands of his enemies, by a friend to whom he had entruſted his perſon.

All the inſolence, which ſucceſs can produce in ungenerous minds, was exerciſed by the covenanters againſt Montroſe, whom they ſo much hated and ſo much dreaded. Theological antipathy farther increaſed their indignities towards a perſon, whom they regarded as impious on account of the excommunication which had been pronounced againſt him. Leſley led him about for ſeveral days in the ſame low habit under which he had diſguiſed himſelf. The vulgar, wherever he paſſed, were inſtigated to reproach and vilify him. When he came to Edinburgh, every circumſtance of elaborate rage and inſult was put in practice by order of the parliament. At the gate of the city he was met by the magiſtrates, and put into a new cart, purpoſely made with a high chair or bench, where he was placed, that the people might have a full view of him. He was bound with a cord, drawn over his breaſt and ſhoulders, and faſtened through holes made in the cart. The hangman then took off the hat of the noble priſoner, and rode himſelf before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken priſoners with the marquis, walking two and two before them.

The populace, more generous and humane, when they ſaw ſo mighty a change of fortune in this great man, ſo lately their dread and terror, into whoſe hands the magiſtrates, a few years before, had delivered on their knees the keys of the city, were ſtruck with compaſſion, and viewed him with ſilent tears and admiration. The preachers, next Sunday, exclaimed againſt this movement of rebel nature, as they termed it; and reproached the people with their profane tenderneſs towards the capital enemy of piety and religion.

When he was carried before the parliament, which was then ſitting, Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the breach of the national covenant, which he had ſubſcribed; his rebellion againſt God, the king, and the kingdom; and the many horrible murders,

murders, treasons, and impieties, for which he was now to be brought to condign punishment. Montrose in his answer maintained the same superiority above his enemies, to which, by his fame and great actions, as well as by the consciousness of a good cause, he was justly entitled. He told the parliament, that, since the king, as he was informed, had so far avowed their authority as to enter into treaty with them, he now appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a respect which, while they stood in open defiance to their sovereign, they would in vain have required of him. That he acknowledged, with infinite shame and remorse, the errors of his early conduct, when their plausible pretences had seduced him to tread with them the paths of rebellion, and bear arms against his prince and country. That his following services, he hoped, had sufficiently testified his repentance; and his death would now atone for that guilt, the only one with which he could justly reproach himself. That in all his warlike enterprises he was warranted by that commission, which he had received from his and their master, against whose lawful authority they had erected their standard. That to venture his life for his sovereign was the least part of his merit: He had even thrown down his arms in obedience to the sacred commands of the king; and had resigned to them the victory, which, in defiance of all their efforts, he was still enabled to dispute with them. That no blood had ever been shed by him but in the field of battle; and many persons were now in his eye, many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him, whose life, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly saved from the fury of the soldiers. That he was sorry to find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of so faithful a subject, in whose death the king's commission must be, at once, so highly injured and affronted. That as to himself, they had in vain endeavoured to vilify and degrade him by all their studied indignities: The justice of his cause, he knew, would ennoble any fortune; nor had he other affliction than to see the authority of his prince, with which he was invested, treated with so much igno-

miny. And that he now joyfully followed, by a like unjuſt ſentence, his late ſovereign; and ſhould be happy if, in his future deſtiny, he could follow him to the ſame bliſsful manſions, where his piety and humane virtues had already, without doubt, ſecured him an eternal recompence.

Montroſe's ſentence was next pronounced againſt him, "That he, James Graham" (for this was the only name they vouchſafed to give him), "ſhould next day "be carried to Edinburgh croſs, and there be hanged on "a gibbet, thirty feet high, for the ſpace of three "hours: Then be taken down, his head to be cut off "upon a ſcaffold, and affixed to the priſon: His legs "and arms be ſtuck upon the four chief towns of the "kingdom: His body be buried in the place appro-"priated for common malefactors; except the church, "upon his repentance, ſhould take off his excommuni-"cation."

The clergy, hoping that the terrors of immediate death had now given them an advantage over their enemy, flocked about him, and inſulted over his fallen fortunes. They pronounced his damnation, and aſſured him, that the judgment, which he was ſo ſoon to ſuffer, would prove but an eaſy prologue to that which he muſt undergo hereafter. They next offered to pray with him: But he was too well acquainted with thoſe forms of imprecation which they called prayers. "Lord, vouchſafe "yet to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorri-"gible ſinner; this wicked, perjured, traiterous, and "profane perſon, who refuſes to hearken to the voice "of thy church." Such were the petitions, which, he expected, they would, according to cuſtom, offer up for him. He told them, that they were a miſerably deluded and deluding people; and would ſhortly bring their country under the moſt inſupportable ſervitude, to which any nation had ever been reduced. "For my part," added he, "I am much prouder to have my head affixed "to the place where it is ſentenced to ſtand, than to "have my picture hang in the king's bed-chamber. "So far from being ſorry that my quarters are to be

"ſent

" ſent to four cities of the kingdom; I wiſh I had limbs " enow to be diſperſed into all the cities of Chriſtendom, " there to remain as teſtimonies in favour of the cauſe " for which I ſuffer." This ſentiment, that very evening, while in priſon, he threw into verſe. The poem remains; a ſignal monument of his heroic ſpirit, and no deſpicable proof of his poetical genius.

(21ſt May.) Now was led forth, amidſt the inſults of his enemies and the tears of the people, this man of illuſtrious birth, and of the greateſt renown in the nation, to ſuffer, for his adhering to the laws of his country, and the rights of his ſovereign, the ignominious death deſtined to the meaneſt malefactor. Every attempt, which the inſolence of the governing party had made to ſubdue his ſpirit, had hitherto proved fruitleſs: They made yet one effort more, in this laſt and melancholy ſcene, when all enmity, ariſing from motives merely human, is commonly ſoftened and diſarmed. The executioner brought that book, which had been publiſhed in elegant Latin, of his great military actions, and tied it by a cord about his neck. Montroſe ſmiled at this new inſtance of their malice. He thanked them, however, for their officious zeal; and ſaid, that he bore this teſtimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worn the garter. Having aſked, whether they had any more indignities to put upon him, and renewing ſome devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the laſt act of the executioner.

Thus periſhed, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, the gallant marquis of Montroſe; the man whoſe military genius, both by valour and conduct, had ſhone forth beyond any which, during theſe civil diſorders, had appeared in the three kingdoms. The finer arts too, he had, in his youth, ſucceisfully cultivated; and whatever was ſublime, elegant, or noble, touched his great ſoul. Nor was he inſenſible to the pleaſures either of ſociety or of love. Something, however, of the *vaſt* and *unbounded* characteriſed his actions and deportment; and it was merely by an heroic effort of duty, that he brought his mind, impatient of ſuperiority, and even of equality,

to pay ſuch unlimited ſubmiſſion to the will of his ſovereign.

The vengeance of the covenanters was not ſatisfied with Montroſe's execution. Urrey, whoſe inconſtancy now led him to take part with the king, ſuffered about the ſame time; Spotiſwood of Daerſie, a youth of eighteen, ſir Francis Hay of Dalgeti, and colonel Sibbald, all of them of birth and character, underwent a like fate. Theſe were taken priſoners with Montroſe. The marquis of Huntley, about a year before, had alſo fallen a victim to the ſeverity of the covenanters.

The paſt ſcene diſplays in a full light the barbarity of this theological faction: The ſequel will ſufficiently diſplay their abſurdity.

(23d June.) The king, in conſequence of his agreement with the commiſſioners of Scotland, ſet ſail for that country; and being eſcorted by ſeven Dutch ſhips of war, who were ſent to guard the herring fiſhery, he arrived in the frith of Cromarty. Before he was permitted to land, he was required to ſign the covenant; and many ſermons and lectures were made him, exhorting him to perſevere in that holy confederacy. Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumfermling, and other noblemen of that party whom they called Engagers, were immediately ſeparated from him, and obliged to retire to their houſes, where they lived in a private manner, without truſt or authority. None of his Engliſh friends, who had ſerved his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom. The king himſelf found that he was conſidered as a mere pageant of ſtate, and that the few remains of royalty which he poſſeſſed, ſerved only to draw on him the greater indignities. One of the quarters of Montroſe, his faithful ſervant, who had borne his commiſſion, had been ſent to Aberdeen, and was ſtill allowed to hang over the gates when he paſſed by that place. The general aſſembly, and afterwards the committee of eſtates and the army, who were entirely governed by the aſſembly, ſet forth a public declaration, in which they proteſted, "that they did not eſpouſe any malignant "quarrel or party, but fought merely on their former "grounds

" grounds or principles; that they disclaimed all the " sins and guilt of the king, and of his house; nor " would they own him or his interest, otherwise than " with a subordination to God, and so far as he owned " and prosecuted the cause of God, and acknowledged " the sins of his house, and of his former ways."

The king, lying entirely at mercy, and having no assurance of life or liberty, farther than was agreeable to the fancy of these austere zealots, was constrained to embrace a measure, which nothing but the necessity of his affairs, and his great youth and inexperience, could excuse. (Aug. 16.) He issued a declaration, such as they required of him. He there gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of providence, by which he was recovered from the snare of evil counsel, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the covenant, and was induced to cast himself and his interests wholly upon God. He desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because of his father's following wicked measures, opposing the covenant and the work of reformation, and shedding the blood of God's people throughout all his dominions: He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house; a matter of great offence, he said, to all the protestant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, visiting the sins of the father upon the children. He professed, that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness: And was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance, any of them in any of his dominions. He declared, that he should never love or favour those who had so little conscience as to follow his interests, in preference to the gospel and the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And he expressed his hope, that, whatever ill success his former guilt might have drawn upon his cause, yet now, having obtained mercy to be on God's side, and to acknowledge his own cause subordinate to that of God, divine providence would crown his arms with victory.

Still the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of the king's ſincerity. The facility which he diſcovered in yielding whatever was required of him, made them ſuſpect, that he regarded all his conceſſions merely as ridiculous farces, to which he muſt of neceſſity ſubmit. They had another trial prepared for him. Inſtead of the ſolemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were reſolved that he ſhould paſs through a public humiliation, and do penance before the whole people. They ſent him twelve articles of repentance, which he was to acknowledge; and the king had agreed, that he would ſubmit to this indignity. The various tranſgreſſions of his father and grandfather, together with the idolatry of his mother, are again enumerated and aggravated in theſe articles; and farther declarations were inſiſted on, that he ſought the reſtoration of his rights for the ſole advancement of religion, and in ſubordination to the kingdom of Chriſt. In ſhort, having exalted the altar above the throne, and brought royalty under their feet, the clergy were reſolved to trample on it, and vilify it, by every inſtance of contumely, which their preſent influence enabled them to impoſe upon their unhappy prince.

Charles in the mean time found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was conſulted in no public meaſure. He was not called to aſſiſt at any councils. His favour was ſufficient to diſcredit any pretender to office or advancement. All efforts which he made to unite the oppoſite parties, increaſed the ſuſpicion which the covenanters had entertained of him, as if he were not entirely their own. Argyle, who, by ſubtleties and compliances, was partly led and partly governed by this wild faction, ſtill turned a deaf ear to all advances which the king made to enter into confidence with him. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be the objects of general hatred and perſecution; and whoever was obnoxious to the clergy, failed not to have one or other of theſe epithets affixed to him. The fanaticiſm which prevailed, being ſo full of ſour and angry principles, and ſo overcharged with various anti-

antipathies, had acquired a new object of abhorrence: These were the *Sorcerers*. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers accused of that crime were burnt by sentence of the magistrates throughout all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwic, which contained only fourteen houses, fourteen persons were punished by fire; and it became a science, every-where much studied and cultivated, to distinguish a true witch by proper trials and symptoms.

The advance of the English army under Cromwel was not able to appease or soften the animosities among the parties in Scotland. The clergy were still resolute to exclude all but their more zealous adherents. As soon as the English parliament found that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war which, they saw, would in the end prove inevitable. Cromwel, having broken the force and courage of the Irish, was sent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton, who governed that kingdom in the character of deputy, and with vigilance and industry persevered in the work of subduing and expelling the natives.

It was expected that Fairfax, who still retained the name of general, would continue to act against Scotland, and appear at the head of the forces; a station for which he was well qualified, and where alone he made any figure. But Fairfax, though he had allowed the army to make use of his name in murdering their sovereign, and offering violence to the parliament, had entertained unsurmountable scruples against invading the Scots, whom he considered as zealous presbyterians, and united to England by the sacred bands of the covenant. He was farther disgusted at the extremities into which he had already been hurried; and was confirmed in his repugnance by the exhortations of his wife, who had great influence over him, and was herself much governed by the presbyterian clergy. A committee of parliament was sent to reason with him; and Cromwel was of the number. In vain did they urge that the Scots had first broken the covenant by their invasion of England under Hamil-

Hamilton; and that they would ſurely renew their hoſtile attempts, if not prevented by the vigorous meaſures of the commonwealth. Cromwel, who knew the rigid inflexibility of Fairfax in every thing which he regarded as matter of principle, ventured to ſolicit him with the utmoſt earneſtneſs; and he went ſo far as to ſhed tears of grief and vexation on the occaſion. No one could ſuſpect any ambition in the man, who laboured ſo zealouſly to retain his general in that high office which, he knew, he himſelf was entitled to fill. The ſame warmth of temper which made Cromwel a frantic enthuſiaſt, rendered him the moſt dangerous of hypocrites; and it was to this turn of mind, as much as to his courage and capacity, that he owed all his wonderful ſucceſſes. By the contagious ferment of his zeal, he engaged every one to cooperate with him in his meaſures; and entering eaſily and affectionately into every part which he was diſpoſed to act, he was enabled, even after multiplied deceits, to cover, under a tempeſt of paſſion, all his crooked ſchemes and profound artifices.

Fairfax having reſigned his commiſſion, it was beſtowed on Cromwel, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. This command, in a commonwealth, which ſtood entirely by arms, was of the utmoſt importance; and was the chief ſtep which this ambitious politician had yet made towards ſovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men.

The command of the Scottiſh army was given to Leſley, an experienced officer, who formed a very proper plan of defence. He entrenched himſelf in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merſe and the Lothians every thing which could ſerve to the ſubſiſtence of the Engliſh army. Cromwel advanced to the Scottiſh camp, and endeavoured by every expedient to bring Leſley to a battle: The prudent Scotchman knew that, though ſuperior in numbers, his army was much inferior in diſcipline to the Engliſh; and he carefully kept himſelf within his entrenchments. By ſkirmiſhes and ſmall ren-

counters he tried to confirm the ſpirits of his ſoldiers; and he was ſucceſsful in theſe enterpriſes. His army daily increaſed both in numbers and courage. The king came to the camp; and having exerted himſelf in an action, gained on the affections of the ſoldiery, who were more deſirous of ſerving under a young prince of ſpirit and vivacity, than under a committee of talking gown-men. The clergy were alarmed. They ordered Charles immediately to leave the camp. They alſo purged it carefully of about four thouſand *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whoſe zeal had led them to attend the king, and who were the ſoldiers of chief credit and experience in the nation. They then concluded, that they had an army compoſed entirely of ſaints, and could not be beaten. They murmured extremely, not only againſt their prudent general, but alſo againſt the Lord, on account of his delays in giving them deliverance; and they plainly told him, that if he would not ſave them from the Engliſh ſectaries, he ſhould no longer be their God. An advantage having offered itſelf on a Sunday, they hindered the general from making uſe of it, leſt he ſhould involve the nation in the guilt of ſabbath-breaking.

Cromwel found himſelf in a very bad ſituation. He had no proviſions but what he received by ſea. He had not had the precaution to bring theſe in ſufficient quantities, and his army was reduced to difficulties. He retired to Dunbar. Leſley followed him, and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. There lay many difficult paſſes between Dunbar and Berwic, and of theſe Leſley had taken poſſeſſion. The Engliſh general was reduced to extremities. He had even embraced a reſolution of ſending by ſea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry. The madneſs of the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics ſaved him from this loſs and diſhonour.

Night and day the miniſters had been wreſtling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they fancied that they had at laſt obtained the victory. Revelations, they

they ſaid, were made them, that the ſectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, meaning Cromwel, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of theſe viſions, they forced their general, in ſpite of his remonſtrances, to deſcend into the plain, with a view of attacking the Engliſh in their retreat. Cromwel, looking through a glaſs, ſaw the enemy's camp in motion; and foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into *his* hands. (3d Sept.) He gave orders immediately for an attack. In this battle it was eaſily obſerved that nothing, in military actions, can ſupply the place of diſcipline and experience; and that, in the preſence of real danger, where men are not accuſtomed to it, the fumes of enthuſiaſm preſently diſſipate, and loſe their influence. The Scots, though double in number to the Engliſh, were ſoon put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter. The chief, if not only, reſiſtance was made by one regiment of Highlanders, that part of the army which was the leaſt infected with fanaticiſm. No victory could be more complete than this which was obtained by Cromwel. About three thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and nine thouſand taken priſoners. Cromwel purſued his advantage, and took poſſeſſion of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottiſh army fled to Stirling. The approach of the winter ſeaſon, and an ague, which ſeized Cromwel, kept him from puſhing the victory any farther.

The clergy made great lamentations, and told the Lord, that to them it was little to ſacrifice their lives and eſtates, but to him it was a great loſs to ſuffer his elect to be deſtroyed. They publiſhed a declaration, containing the cauſe of their late misfortunes. Theſe viſitations they aſcribed to the manifold provocations of the king's houſe, of which they feared he had not yet thoroughly repented; the ſecret intruſion of malignants into the king's family, and even into the camp; the leaving of a moſt malignant and profane guard of horſe, who, being ſent for to be purged, came two days before the defeat, and were allowed to fight with the army; the owning of the king's quarrel by many without ſubordination

nation to religion and liberty; and the carnal ſelf-keeping of ſome, together with the neglect of family prayers by others.

Cromwel, having been ſo ſucceſsful in the war of the ſword, took up the pen againſt the Scottiſh eccleſiaſtics. He wrote them ſome polemical letters, in which he maintained the chief points of the independent theology. He took care likewiſe to retort on them their favourite argument of providence; and aſked them, Whether the Lord had not declared againſt them? But the miniſters thought that the ſame events, which to their enemies were judgments, to them were trials; and they replied, that the Lord had only hid his face for a time, from Jacob. But Cromwel inſiſted, that the appeal had been made to God in the moſt expreſs and ſolemn manner, and that, in the fields of Dunbar, an irrevocable deciſion had been awarded in favour of the Engliſh army *.

* This is the beſt of Cromwel's wretched compoſitions that remains, and we ſhall here extract a paſſage out of it. "You ſay you have not ſo learned Chriſt as to hang the "equity of our cauſe upon events. We could wiſh that "blindneſs had not been upon your eyes to all thoſe marvel- "lous diſpenſations, which God had wrought lately in Eng- "land. But did not you ſolemnly appeal and pray? Did "not we do ſo too? And ought not we and you to think, "with fear and trembling, of the hand of the great God, in "this mighty and ſtrange appearance of his, but can ſlightly "call it an event? Were not both your and our expectations "renewed from time to time, while we waited on God, to "ſee which way he would manifeſt himſelf upon our ap- "peals? And ſhall we, after all theſe our prayers, faſtings, "tears, expectations, and ſolemn appeals, call theſe mere "events? The Lord pity you. Surely we fear, becauſe it "has been a merciful and a gracious deliverance to us.

"I beſeech you in the bowels of Chriſt, ſearch after the "mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we ſhall help you "by our prayers that you may find it. For yet, if we know "our heart at all, our bowels do in Chriſt yearn after the "godly in Scotland." Thurloe, vol. i. p. 158.

(1651.)

(1651.) The defeat of the Scots was regarded by the king as a fortunate event. The armies, which fought on both ſides, were almoſt equally his enemies; and the vanquiſhed were now obliged to give him ſome more authority, and apply to him for ſupport. The parliament was ſummoned to meet at St. Johnſtone's. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the Engagers, were admitted into court and camp, on condition of doing public penance, and expreſſing repentance for their late tranſgreſſions. Some Malignants alſo creeped in under various pretences. The intended humiliation or penance of the king was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed at Scone (Jan. 1) with great pomp and ſolemnity. But amidſt all this appearance of reſpect, Charles remained in the hands of the moſt rigid covenanters: And though treated with civility and courteſy by Argyle, a man of parts and addreſs, he was little better than a priſoner, and was ſtill expoſed to all the rudeneſs and pedantry of the eccleſiaſtics.

This young prince was in a ſituation which very ill ſuited his temper and diſpoſition. All thoſe good qualities which he poſſeſſed, his affability, his wit, his gaiety, his gentleman-like, diſengaged behaviour, were here ſo many vices; and his love of eaſe, liberty, and pleaſure, was regarded as the higheſt enormity. Though artful in the practice of courtly diſſimulation, the ſanctified ſtyle was utterly unknown to him; and he never could mould his deportment into that ſtarched grimace, which the covenanters required as an infallible mark of converſion. The duke of Buckingham was the only Engliſh courtier allowed to attend him; and, by his ingenious talent for ridicule, he had rendered himſelf extremely agreeable to his maſter. While ſo many objects of deriſion ſurrounded them, it was difficult to be altogether inſenſible to the temptation, and wholly to ſuppreſs the laugh. Obliged to attend from morning to night at prayers and ſermons, they betrayed evident ſymptoms of wearineſs or contempt. The clergy never could eſteem the king ſufficiently regenerated: And by continual exhortations, remonſtrances, and reprim

they ſtill endeavoured to bring him to a juſter ſenſe of his ſpiritual duty.

The king's paſſion for the fair could not altogether be reſtrained. He had once been obſerved uſing ſome familiarities with a young woman; and a committee of miniſters was appointed to reprove him for a behaviour ſo unbecoming a covenanted monarch. The ſpokeſman of the committee, one Douglaſs, began with a ſevere aſpect, informed the king that great ſcandal had been given to the godly, enlarged on the heinous nature of ſin, and concluded with exhorting his majeſty, whenever he was diſpoſed to amuſe himſelf, to be more careful, for the future, in ſhutting the windows. This delicacy, ſo unuſual to the place and to the character of the man, was remarked by the king; and he never forgot the obligation.

The king, ſhocked at all the indignities, and, perhaps, ſtill more tired with all the formalities, to which he was obliged to ſubmit, made an attempt to regain his liberty. General Middleton, at the head of ſome royaliſts, being proſcribed by the covenanters, kept in the mountains, expecting ſome opportunity of ſerving his maſter. The king reſolved to join this body. He ſecretly made his eſcape from Argyle, and fled towards the Highlands. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horſe, was ſent in purſuit of him. He overtook the king, and perſuaded him to return. The royaliſts being too weak to ſupport him, Charles was the more eaſily induced to comply. This incident procured him afterwards better treatment and more authority; the covenanters being afraid of driving him, by their rigours, to ſome deſperate reſolution. Argyle renewed his courtſhip to the king, and the king, with equal diſſimulation, pretended to repoſe great confidence in Argyle. He even went ſo far as to drop hints of his intention to marry that nobleman's daughter: But he had to do with a man too wiſe to be ſeduced by ſuch groſs artifices.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the Scottiſh army was aſſembled under Hamilton and Leſley; and the king was allowed to join the camp. The forces of the weſtern

counties, notwithſtanding the imminent danger which threatened their country, were reſolute not to unite their cauſe with that of an army which admitted any engagers or malignants among them; and they kept in a body apart under Ker. They called themſelves the *Proteſters*; and their frantic clergy declaimed equally againſt the king and againſt Cromwel. The other party were denominated *Reſolutioners*; and theſe diſtinctions continued long after to divide and agitate the kingdom.

Charles encamped at the Torwood; and his generals reſolved to conduct themſelves by the ſame cautious maxims which, ſo long as they were embraced, had been ſucceſsful during the former campaign. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north ſupplied him with proviſions. Strong entrenchments defended his front; and it was in vain that Cromwel made every attempt to bring him to an engagement. After loſing much time, the Engliſh general ſent Lambert over the frith into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the proviſions of the enemy. Lambert fell upon Holborne and Browne, who commanded a party of the Scots, and put them to rout with great ſlaughter. Cromwel alſo paſſed over with his whole army; and lying at the back of the king, made it impoſſible for him to keep his poſt any longer.

Charles, reduced to deſpair, embraced a reſolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open, he reſolved immediately to march into England; where he expected that all his friends, and all thoſe who were diſcontented with the preſent government, would flock to his ſtandard. He perſuaded the generals to enter into the ſame views; and with one conſent the army, to the number of 14,000 men, roſe from their camp, and advanced by great journies towards the ſouth.

Cromwel was ſurpriſed at this movement of the royal army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had expoſed his friends to imminent danger, and ſaw the king with numerous forces marching into England; where his preſence, from the general hatred which prevailed

vailed againſt the parliament, was capable of producing ſome great revolution. But if this conduct was an overſight in Cromwel, he quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He deſpatched letters to the parliament, exhorting them not to be diſmayed at the approach of the Scots: He ſent orders every-where for aſſembling forces to oppoſe the king: He ordered Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and infeſt their march: And he himſelf, leaving Monk with 7000 men to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all the expedition poſſible.

Charles found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations of increaſing his army. The Scots, terrified at the proſpect of ſo hazardous an enterpriſe, fell off in great numbers. The Engliſh preſbyterians, having no warning given them of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. To the royaliſts, this meaſure was equally unexpected; and they were farther deterred from joining the Scottiſh army, by the orders which the committee of miniſters had iſſued, not to admit any, even in this deſperate extremity, who would not ſubſcribe the covenant. The earl of Derby, leaving the Iſle of Man, where he had hitherto maintained his independence, was employed in levying forces in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire; but was ſoon ſuppreſſed by a party of the parliamentary army. And the king, when he arrived at Worceſter, found that his forces, extremely haraſſed by a haſty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous than when he roſe from his camp in the Torwood.

Such is the influence of eſtabliſhed government, that the commonwealth, though founded in uſurpation the moſt unjuſt and unpopular, had authority ſufficient to raiſe every-where the militia of the counties; and theſe, united with the regular forces, bent all their efforts againſt the king. (3d Sept.) With an army of about 30,000 men, Cromwel fell upon Worceſter; and attacking it on all ſides, and meeting with little reſiſtance, except from duke Hamilton and general Middleton, broke in upon the diſordered royaliſts. The ſtreets of the city were ſtrowed with dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of

bravery and honour, was mortally wounded; Maſſey wounded and taken priſoner; the king himſelf, having given many proofs of perſonal valour, was obliged to fly. The whole Scottiſh army was either killed or taken priſoners. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, put to death the few that eſcaped from the field of battle.

The king left Worceſter at ſix o'clock in the afternoon, and, without halting, travelled about twenty-ſix miles, in company with fifty or ſixty of his friends. To provide for his ſafety, he thought it beſt to ſeparate himſelf from his companions; and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the earl of Derby's directions, he went to Boſcobel, a lone houſe in the borders of Staffordſhire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles entruſted himſelf. The man had dignity of ſentiments much above his condition; and though death was denounced againſt all who concealed the king, and a great reward promiſed to any one who ſhould betray him, he profeſſed and maintained unſhaken fidelity. He took the aſſiſtance of his four brothers, equally honourable with himſelf; and having clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themſelves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon ſtraw in the houſe, and fed on ſuch homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he ſheltered himſelf among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He ſaw ſeveral ſoldiers paſs by. All of them were intent in ſearch of the king; and ſome expreſſed, in his hearing, their earneſt wiſhes of ſeizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the *Royal Oak*; and for many years was regarded by the neighbourhood with great veneration.

Charles was in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither ſtay in his retreat, nor ſtir a ſtep from it, without the moſt imminent danger. Fear, hopes, and party zeal, intereſted multitudes to diſcover him; and even the ſmalleſt indiſcretion of his friends might prove fatal. Having

joined

VOLUME IX. page 40.
King Charles, mounting an Oak,
to escape his pursuers.

Engraved for J. Parsons, Paternoster Row. Oct.r 1794.

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joined lord Wilmot, who was ſkulking in the neighbourhood, they agreed to put themſelves into the hands of colonel Lane, a zealous royaliſt, who lived at Bentley, not many miles diſtant. The king's feet were ſo hurt by walking about in heavy boots or countrymen's ſhoes which did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horſeback; and he travelled in this ſituation to Bentley, attended by the Penderells, who had been ſo faithful to him. Lane formed a ſcheme for his journey to Briſtol, where, it was hoped, he would find a ſhip, in which he might tranſport himſelf. He had a near kinſwoman, Mrs. Norton, who lived within three miles of that city, and was with child, very near the time of her delivery. He obtained a paſs (for, during thoſe times of confuſion, this precaution was requiſite) for his ſiſter Jane Lane and a ſervant, to travel towards Briſtol, under pretence of viſiting and attending her relation. The king rode before the lady, and perſonated the ſervant.

When they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended that ſhe had brought along as her ſervant a poor lad, a neighbouring farmer's ſon, who was ill of an ague; and ſhe begged a private room for him, where he might be quiet. Though Charles kept himſelf retired in this chamber, the butler, one Pope, ſoon knew him: The king was alarmed, but made the butler promiſe that he would keep the ſecret from every mortal, even from his maſter; and he was faithful to his engagement.

No ſhip, it was found, would, for a month, ſet ſail from Briſtol, either for France or Spain; and the king was obliged to go elſewhere for a paſſage. He entruſted himſelf to colonel Windham of Dorſetſhire, an affectionate partiſan of the royal family. The natural effect of the long civil wars, and of the furious rage to which all men were wrought up in their different factions, was, that every one's inclinations and affections were thoroughly known, and even the courage and fidelity of moſt men, by the variety of incidents, had been put to trial. The royaliſts too had, many of them, been obliged to make concealments in their houſes for themſelves, their friends, or more valuable effects; and the

arts of eluding the enemy had been frequently practiſed. All theſe circumſtances proved favourable to the king in the preſent exigency. As he often paſſed through the hands of catholics, the *Prieſt's Hole*, as they called it, the place where they were obliged to conceal their perſecuted prieſts, was ſometimes employed for ſheltering their diſtreſſed ſovereign.

Windham, before he received the king, aſked leave to entruſt the important ſecret to his mother, his wife, and four ſervants, on whoſe fidelity he could rely. Of all theſe, no one proved wanting either in honour or diſcretion. The venerable old matron, on the reception of her royal gueſt, expreſſed the utmoſt joy, that having loſt, without regret, three ſons and one grandchild in defence of his father, ſhe was now reſerved, in her declining years, to be inſtrumental in the preſervation of himſelf. Windham told the king, that ſir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five ſons. "My children," ſaid he, "we "have hitherto ſeen ſerene and quiet times under our "three laſt ſovereigns: But I muſt now warn you to "prepare for clouds and ſtorms. Factions ariſe on every "ſide, and threaten the tranquillity of your native "country. But whatever happen, do you faithfully "honour and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. "I charge you never to forſake the crown, though "it ſhould hang upon a buſh."—"Theſe laſt words," added Windham, "made ſuch impreſſions on all our "breaſts, that the many afflictions of theſe ſad times "could never efface their indelible characters." From innumerable inſtances, it appears how deep-rooted in the minds of the Engliſh gentry of that age was the principle of loyalty to their ſovereign; that noble and generous principle, inferior only in excellence to the more enlarged and more enlightened affection towards a legal conſtitution. But during thoſe times of military uſurpation, theſe paſſions were the ſame.

The king continued ſeveral days in Windham's houſe; and all his friends in Britain, and in every part of Europe, remained in the moſt anxious ſuſpenſe with regard

regard to his fortunes: No one could conjecture whether he were dead or alive; and the report of his death being generally believed, happily relaxed the vigilant ſearch of his enemies. Trials were made to procure a veſſel for his eſcape; but he ſtill met with diſappointments. Having left Windham's houſe, he was obliged again to return to it. He paſſed through many other adventures; aſſumed different diſguiſes; in every ſtep was expoſed to imminent perils; and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The ſagacity of a ſmith, who remarked that his horſe's ſhoes had been made in the north, not in the weſt, as he pretended, once detected him; and he narrowly eſcaped. At Shoreham in Suſſex a veſſel was at laſt found, in which he embarked. He had been known to ſo many, that if he had not ſet ſail in that critical moment, it had been impoſſible for him to eſcape. After one and forty days concealment, he arrived ſafely at Feſcamp in Normandy. No leſs than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his concealment and eſcape.

The battle of Worceſter afforded Cromwel what he called his *crowning mercy*. So elated was he, that he intended to have knighted in the field two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood; but was diſſuaded by his friends from exerting this act of regal authority. His power and ambition were too great to brook ſubmiſſion to the empty name of a republic, which ſtood chiefly by his influence, and was ſupported by his victories. How early he entertained thoughts of taking into his hand the reins of government is uncertain. We are only aſſured, that he now diſcovered to his intimate friends theſe aſpiring views; and even expreſſed a deſire of aſſuming the rank of king, which he had contributed, with ſuch ſeeming zeal, to aboliſh.

The little popularity and credit acquired by the republicans, farther ſtimulated the ambition of this enterpriſing politician. Theſe men had not that large thought, nor thoſe comprehenſive views, which might qualify them for acting the part of legiſlators: Selfiſh aims and bigotry chiefly engroſſed their attention. They carried

carried their rigid auſterity ſo far as to enact a law, declaring fornication, after the firſt act, to be felony, without benefit of clergy *. They made ſmall progreſs in that important work, which they profeſſed to have ſo much at heart, the ſettling of a new model of repreſentation, and fixing a plan of government. The nation began to apprehend, that they intended to eſtabliſh themſelves as a perpetual legiſlature, and to confine the whole power to ſixty or ſeventy perſons, who called themſelves the parliament of the Commonwealth of England. And while they pretended to beſtow new liberties upon the nation, they found themſelves obliged to infringe even the moſt valuable of thoſe which, through time immemorial, had been tranſmitted from their anceſtors. Not daring to entruſt the trials of treaſon to juries, who, being choſen indifferently from among the people, would have been little favourable to the commonwealth, and would have formed their verdict upon the ancient laws, they eluded that noble inſtitution, by which the government of this iſland has ever been ſo much diſtinguiſhed. They had evidently ſeen in the trial of Lilburn what they could expect from juries. This man, the moſt turbulent, but the moſt upright and courageous, of human kind, was tried for a tranſgreſſion of the new ſtatute of treaſons: But though he was plainly guilty, he was acquitted, to the great joy of the people. Weſtminſter-hall, nay the whole city, rang with ſhouts and acclamations. Never did any eſtabliſhed power receive ſo ſtrong a declaration of its uſurpation and invalidity; and from no inſtitution, beſides the admirable one of juries, could be expected this magnanimous effort.

That they might not for the future be expoſed to affronts, which ſo much leſſened their authority, the parliament erected a high court of juſtice, which was to receive indictments from the council of ſtate. This court was compoſed of men devoted to the ruling party,

* A bill was introduced into the houſe againſt painting, patches, and other immodeſt dreſs of women; but it did not paſs. Parl. Hiſt. vol. xix. p. 263.

without

without name or character, determined to ſacrifice every thing to their own ſafety or ambition. Colonel Euſebius Andrews and colonel Walter Slingſby were tried by this court for conſpiracies, and condemned to death. They were royaliſts, and refuſed to plead before ſo illegal a juriſdiction. Love, Gibbons, and other preſbyterians, having entered into a plot againſt the republic, were alſo tried, condemned, and executed. The earl of Derby, ſir Timothy Featherſtone, Bemboe, being taken priſoners after the battle of Worceſter, were put to death by ſentence of a court-martial; a method of proceeding declared illegal by that very petition of right, for which a former parliament had ſo ſtrenuouſly contended, and which, after great efforts, they had extorted from the king.

Excepting their principles of toleration, the maxims by which the republicans regulated eccleſiaſtical affairs no more prognoſticated any durable ſettlement, than thoſe by which they conducted their civil concerns. The preſbyterian model of congregation, claſſes, and aſſemblies, was not allowed to be finiſhed: It ſeemed even the intention of many leaders in the parliament to admit of no eſtabliſhed church, and to leave every one, without any guidance of the magiſtrate, to embrace whatever ſect, and to ſupport whatever clergy, were moſt agreeable to him.

The parliament went ſo far as to make ſome approaches in one province, to their independent model. Almoſt all the clergy of Wales being ejected as malignants, itinerant preachers with ſmall ſalaries were ſettled, not above four or five in each county; and theſe, being furniſhed with horſes at the public expenſe, hurried from place to place, and carried, as they expreſſed themſelves, the glad tidings of the goſpel. They were all of them men of the loweſt birth and education, who had deſerted mechanical trades, in order to follow this new profeſſion. And in this particular, as well as in their wandering life, they pretended to be more truly apoſtolical.

The republicans, both by the turn of their diſpoſition, and by the nature of the inſtruments which they employed,

ployed, were better qualified for acts of force and vigour than for the slow and deliberate work of legislation. Notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed, and the present factions, the power of England had never, in any period, appeared so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as it did at this time, in the hands of the commonwealth. A numerous army served equally to retain every one in implicit subjection to established authority, and to strike a terror into foreign nations. The power of peace and war was lodged in the same hands with that of imposing taxes; and no difference of views, among the several members of the legislature, could any longer be apprehended. The present impositions, though much superior to what had ever formerly been experienced, were in reality moderate, and what a nation so opulent could easily bear. The military genius of the people had, by the civil contests, been roused from its former lethargy; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion, into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity to men of low stations to break through their obscurity, and to raise themselves by their courage to commands which they were well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have entitled them. And while so great a power was lodged in such active hands, no wonder the republic was successful in all its enterprises.

Blake, a man of great courage and a generous disposition, the same person who had defended Lyme and Taunton with such unshaken obstinacy against the late king, was made an admiral; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land-service, into which too he had not entered till past fifty years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was put under his command, and he received orders to pursue prince Rupert, to whom the king had entrusted that squadron which had deserted to him. Rupert took shelter in Kinsale; and escaping thence, fled towards the coast of Portugal. Blake pursued and chased him into the Tagus,

Tagus, where he intended to make an attack upon him. But the king of Portugal, moved by the favour which, throughout all Europe, attended the royal cauſe, refuſed Blake admittance, and aided prince Rupert in making his eſcape. To be revenged of this partiality, the Engliſh admiral made prize of twenty Portugueſe ſhips richly laden; and he threatened ſtill farther vengeance. The king of Portugal, dreading ſo dangerous a foe to his newly-acquired dominion, and ſenſible of the unequal conteſt in which he was engaged, made all poſſible ſubmiſſions to the haughty republic, and was at laſt admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Prince Rupert, having loſt a great part of his ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain, made ſail towards the Weſt Indies. His brother, prince Maurice, was there ſhipwrecked in a hurricane. Every-where this ſquadron ſubſiſted by privateering, ſometimes on Engliſh, ſometimes on Spaniſh veſſels. And Rupert at laſt returned to France, where he diſpoſed of the remnants of his fleet, together with his prizes.

All the ſettlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the ſettlement of the republic; and ſir George Ayſcue was ſent with a ſquadron to reduce them. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, were ſoon ſubdued. Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, made ſome reſiſtance; but was at laſt obliged to ſubmit.

With equal eaſe were Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, and the Iſle of Man, brought under ſubjection to the republic; and the ſea, which had been much infeſted by privateers from theſe iſlands, was rendered ſafe to the Engliſh commerce. The counteſs of Derby defended the Iſle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the neceſſity of ſurrendering to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illuſtrious houſe of Trimoille in France, had, during the civil war, diſplayed a manly courage by her obſtinate defence of Latham-houſe againſt the parliamentary forces; and ſhe retained the glory of being the laſt perſon in the three kingdoms, and in all their dependant

dependant dominions, who ſubmitted to the victorious commonwealth *.

Ireland and Scotland were now entirely ſubjected and reduced to tranquillity. Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland, at the head of a numerous army, 30,000 ſtrong, proſecuted the work of ſubduing the revolted Iriſh; and he defeated them in many rencounters, which, though of themſelves of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cauſe. He puniſhed without mercy all the priſoners who had any hand in the maſſacres. Sir Phelim O'Neale, among the reſt, was, ſome time after, brought to the gibbet, and ſuffered an ignominious death, which he had ſo well merited by his inhuman cruelties. Limeric, a conſiderable town, ſtill remained in the hands of the Iriſh; and Ireton, after a vigorous ſiege, made himſelf maſter of it. He was here infected with the plague, and ſhortly after died; a memorable perſonage, much celebrated for his vigilance, induſtry, capacity, even for the ſtrict execution of juſtice in that unlimited command which he poſſeſſed in Ireland. He was obſerved to be inflexible in all his purpoſes; and it was believed by many, that he was animated with a ſincere and paſſionate love of liberty, and never could have been induced by any motive to ſubmit to the ſmalleſt appearance of regal government. Cromwel appeared to be much affected by his death; and the republicans, who repoſed great confidence in him, were inconſolable. To ſhow their regard for his merit and ſervices, they beſtowed an eſtate of two thouſand pounds a-year on his family, and honoured him with a magnificent funeral at the public charge. Though the eſtabliſhed government was but the mere ſhadow of a commonwealth, yet was it beginning by proper arts to encourage that public ſpirit which no other ſpecies of civil polity is ever able fully to inſpire.

The command of the army in Ireland devolved on lieutenant-general Ludlow. The civil government of the iſland was entruſted to commiſſioners. Ludlow con-

* See note [B] at the end of the volume.

tinued to puſh the advantages againſt the Iriſh, and every-where obtained an eaſy victory. That unhappy people, diſguſted with the king on account of thoſe violent declarations againſt them and their religion, which had been extorted by the Scots, applied to the king of Spain, to the duke of Lorraine, and found aſſiſtance no-where. Clanricarde, unable to reſiſt the prevailing power, made ſubmiſſions to the parliament, and retired into England, where he ſoon after died. He was a ſteady catholic; but a man much reſpected by all parties.

The ſucceſſes which attended Monk in Scotland were no leſs deciſive. That able general laid ſiege to Stirling-caſtle; and though it was well provided for defence, it was ſoon ſurrendered to him. He there became maſter of all the records of the kingdom; and he ſent them to England. The earl of Leven, the earl of Crawford, lord Ogilvy, and other noblemen, having met near Perth, in order to concert meaſures for raiſing a new army, were ſuddenly ſet upon by colonel Alured, and moſt of them taken priſoners. Sir Philip Muſgrave, with ſome Scots, being engaged at Dumfries in a like enterpriſe, met with a like fate. Dundee was a town well fortified, ſupplied with a good garriſon under Lumiſden, and full of all the rich furniture, the plate, and money of the kingdom, which had been ſent thither as to a place of ſafety. Monk appeared before it; and having made a breach, gave a general aſſault. He carried the town; and following the example and inſtructions of Cromwel, put all the inhabitants to the ſword, in order to ſtrike a general terror into the kingdom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, Inverneſs, and other towns and forts, yielded, of their own accord, to the enemy. Argyle made his ſubmiſſions to the Engliſh commonwealth; and excepting a few royaliſts, who remained ſome time in the mountains, under the earl of Glencairn, lord Balcarras, and general Middleton, that kingdom, which had hitherto, through all ages, by means of its ſituation, poverty, and valour,

maintained its independence, was reduced to total ſubjection.

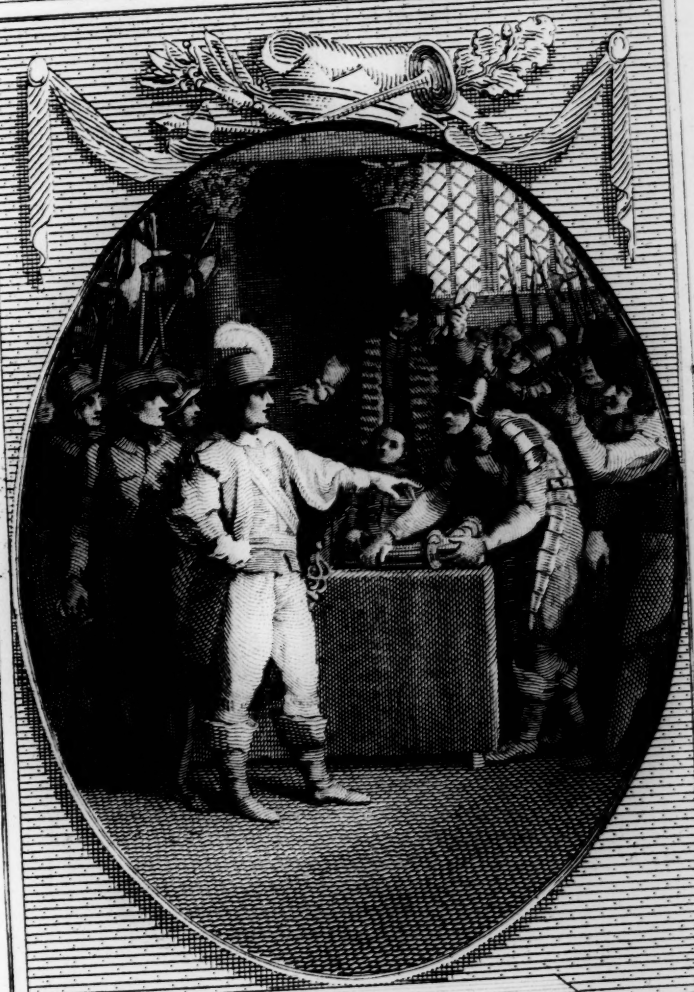
The Engliſh parliament ſent ſir Harry Vane, St. John, and other commiſſioners, to ſettle Scotland. Theſe men, who poſſeſſed little of the true ſpirit of liberty, knew how to maintain the appearance of it; and they required the voluntary conſent of all the counties and towns of this conquered kingdom, before they would unite them into the ſame commonwealth with England. The clergy proteſted; becauſe, they ſaid, this incorporating union would draw along with it a ſubordination of the church to the ſtate in the things of Chriſt. Engliſh judges, joined to ſome Scottiſh, were appointed to determine all cauſes; juſtice was ſtrictly adminiſtered; order and peace maintained; and the Scots, freed from the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtics, were not much diſſatisfied with the preſent government *. The prudent conduct of Monk, a man who poſſeſſed a capacity for the arts both of peace and war, ſerved much to reconcile the minds of men, and to allay their prejudices.

(1652.) By the total reduction and pacification of the Britiſh dominions, the parliament had leiſure to look abroad, and to exert their vigour in foreign enterpriſes. The Dutch were the firſt that felt the weight of their arms.

During the life of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange, the Dutch republic had maintained a neutrality in the civil wars of England, and had never interpoſed, except by her good offices, between the contending parties. When William, who had married an Engliſh princeſs, ſucceeded to his father's commands and authority †, the States, both before and after the execution of the late king, were accuſed of taking ſteps more favourable to the royal cauſe, and of betraying a great prejudice againſt that of the parliament. It was long before the envoy of the Engliſh commonwealth could obtain an audience of the ſtates-general. The murderers of Do-

* See note [C] at the end of the volume. † 1647.

riſlaus



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Cromwell dissolving the long Parliament.

Engraved for J. Parsons, 21, Paternoster Row. July 1794.

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riſlaus were not purſued with ſuch rigour as the parliament expected. And much regard had been payed to the king, and many good offices performed to him, both by the public, and by men of all ranks in the United Provinces.

After the death of William prince of Orange, which was attended with the depreſſion of his party and the triumph of the Dutch republicans, the parliament thought that the time was now favourable for cementing a cloſer confederacy with the States. St. John, chief juſtice, who was ſent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a kind of coalition between the two republics, which would have rendered their intereſts totally inſeparable; but fearing that ſo extraordinary a project would not be reliſhed, he contented himſelf with dropping ſome hints of it, and openly went no farther than to propoſe a ſtrict defenſive alliance between England and the United Provinces, ſuch as has now, for near ſeventy years, taken place between theſe friendly powers. But the States, who were unwilling to form a nearer confederacy with a government whoſe meaſures were ſo obnoxious, and whoſe ſituation ſeemed ſo precarious, offered only to renew the former alliances with England. And the haughty St. John, diſguſted with this diſappointment, as well as incenſed at many affronts, which had been offered him with impunity, by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and endeavoured to foment a quarrel between the republics.

The movements of great ſtates are often directed by as ſlender ſprings as thoſe of individuals. Though war with ſo conſiderable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their other neighbours, might ſeem dangerous to the yet unſettled commonwealth, there were ſeveral motives which at this time induced the Engliſh parliament to embrace hoſtile meaſures. Many of the members thought that a foreign war would ſerve as a pretence for continuing the ſame parliament, and delaying the new model of a repreſentative, with which the nation had ſo long been flattered. Others hoped that the war

would furniſh a reaſon for maintaining, ſome time longer, that numerous ſtanding army, which was ſo much complained of *. On the other hand, ſome who dreaded the increaſing power of Cromwel, expected that the great expenſe of naval armaments would prove a motive for diminiſhing the military eſtabliſhment. To divert the attention of the public from domeſtic quarrels towards foreign tranſactions, ſeemed, in the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds, to be good policy. The ſuperior power of the Engliſh commonwealth, together with its advantages of ſituation, promiſed ſucceſs; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to diſtreſs and ſink their flouriſhing commerce, and by victories to throw a luſtre on their own eſtabliſhment, which was ſo new and unpopular. All theſe views, enforced by the violent ſpirit of St. John, who had great influence over Cromwel, determined the parliament to change the purpoſed alliance into a furious war againſt the United Provinces.

To cover theſe hoſtile intentions, the parliament, under pretence for providing for the intereſts of commerce, embraced ſuch meaſures as they knew would give diſguſt to the States. They framed the famous act of navigation; which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their bottoms any commodity which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this law, though the terms in which it was conceived were general, the Dutch were principally affected; becauſe their country produced few commodities, and they ſubſiſt chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of Europe. Letters of repriſal were granted to ſeveral merchants, who complained of injuries, which, they pretended, they had received from the States; and above eighty Dutch ſhips fell into their hands, and were made prizes. The cruelties committed on the Engliſh at Amboyna, which were certainly enormous, but which ſeem-

* We are told in the life of ſir Henry Vane, that that famous republican oppoſed the Dutch war, and that it was the military gentlemen chiefly who ſupported that meaſure.

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ed to be buried in oblivion by a thirty years' ſilence, were again made the ground of complaint. And the allowing the murderers of Doriſlaus to eſcape, and the conniving at the inſults to which St. John had been expoſed, were repreſented as ſymptoms of an unfriendly, if not a hoſtile, diſpoſition in the States.

The States, alarmed at all theſe ſteps, ſent orders to their ambaſſadors to endeavour the renewal of the treaty of alliance, which had been broken off by the abrupt departure of St. John. Not to be unprepared, they equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty ſail, and took care, by their miniſters at London, to inform the council of ſtate of that armament. This intelligence, inſtead of ſtriking terror into the Engliſh republic, was conſidered as a menace, and farther confirmed the parliament in their hoſtile reſolutions. The minds of men in both ſtates were, every day, more irritated againſt each other; and it was not long before theſe humours broke forth in action.

Tromp, an admiral of great renown, received from the States the command of a fleet of forty-two ſail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation againſt the privateers of the Engliſh. He was forced, by ſtreſs of weather, as he alleged, to take ſhelter in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an Engliſh fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggreſſor in the action, which enſued between theſe two admirals, both of them men of ſuch prompt and fiery diſpoſitions, it is not eaſy to determine; ſince each of them ſent to his own ſtate a relation totally oppoſite in all its circumſtances to that of the other, and yet ſupported by the teſtimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended that, having given a ſignal to the Dutch admiral to ſtrike, Tromp, inſtead of complying, fired a broadſide at him. Tromp aſſerted that he was preparing to ſtrike, and that the Engliſh admiral, nevertheleſs, began hoſtilities. It is certain that the admiralty of Holland, who are diſtinct from the council of ſtate, had given Tromp no orders to ſtrike, but had left him to his own diſcretion with regard to that vain but much con-

teſted ceremonial. They ſeemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new commonwealth, and to interpret the former reſpect payed the Engliſh flag, as a deference due only to the monarchy. This circumſtance forms a ſtrong preſumption againſt the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it muſt be remarked, to which Tromp was ſuſpected to adhere, were deſirous of a war with England.

Blake, though his ſquadron conſiſted only of fifteen veſſels, reinforced, after the battle began, by eight under captain Bourne, maintained the fight with bravery for five hours, and ſunk one ſhip of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coaſt of Holland. The populace of London were enraged, and would have inſulted the Dutch ambaſſadors, who lived at Chelſea, had not the council of ſtate ſent guards to protect them.

When the States heard of this action, of which the conſequences were eaſily foreſeen, they were in the utmoſt conſternation. They immediately deſpatched Paw, penſionary of Holland, as their ambaſſador extraordinary to London, and ordered him to lay before the parliament the narrative which Tromp had ſent of the late rencounter. They entreated them, by all the bands of their common religion and common liberties, not to precipitate themſelves into hoſtile meaſures, but to appoint commiſſioners, who ſhould examine every circumſtance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obſcurity. And they pretended that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the Engliſh, but would ſeverely puniſh him, if they found, upon inquiry, that he had been guilty of an action which they ſo much diſapproved. The imperious parliament would hearken to none of theſe reaſons or remonſtrances. Elated by the numerous ſucceſſes which they had obtained over their domeſtic enemies, they thought that every thing muſt yield to their fortunate arms; and they gladly ſeized the opportunity, which they ſought, of making war upon the States. They demanded that, without any farther delay or inquiry, reparation ſhould be made for all

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the damages which the Engliſh had ſuſtained. And when this demand was not complied with, they deſpatched orders for commencing war againſt the United Provinces.

Blake ſailed northwards with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring buſſes, which were eſcorted by twelve men of war. All theſe he either took or diſperſed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred ſail. When theſe two admirals were within ſight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious ſtorm attacked them. Blake took ſhelter in the Engliſh harbours. The Dutch fleet was diſperſed, and received great damage.

(16th Aug.) Sir George Ayſcue, though he commanded only forty ſhips, according to the Engliſh accounts, engaged near Plymouth, the famous de Ruiter, who had under him fifty ſhips of war with thirty merchant-men. The Dutch ſhips were indeed of inferior force to the Engliſh. De Ruiter, the only admiral in Europe who has attained a renown equal to that of the greateſt general, defended himſelf ſo well, that Ayſcue gained no advantage over him. Night parted them in the greateſt heat of the action. De Ruiter next day ſailed off with his convoy. The Engliſh fleet had been ſo ſhattered in the fight, that it was not able to purſue.

(28th Oct.) Near the coaſt of Kent, Blake, ſeconded by Bourne and Pen, met a Dutch ſquadron, nearly equal in numbers, commanded by de Witte and de Ruiter. A battle was fought much to the diſadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other veſſels were ſunk, and one blown up. The Dutch next day made ſail towards Holland.

The Engliſh were not ſo ſucceſsful in the Mediterranean. Van Galen, with much ſuperior force, attacked captain Badily, and defeated him. He bought, however, his victory with the loſs of his life.

Sea-fights are ſeldom ſo deciſive as to diſable the vanquiſhed from making head in a little time againſt the victors,

victors. (29th Nov.) Tromp, ſeconded by de Ruiter, met, near the Goodwins, with Blake, whoſe fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who reſolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both ſides, as well as the inferior officers and ſeamen, exerted great bravery. In this action the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himſelf was wounded. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken. Two ſhips were burned, and one ſunk; and night came opportunely to ſave the Engliſh fleet. After this victory, Tromp, in a bravado, fixed a broom to his main-maſt; as if he were reſolved to ſweep the ſea entirely of all Engliſh veſſels.

(1653.) Great preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this diſgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty ſail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been ſent for from Scotland. (18th Feb.) When the Engliſh lay off Portland, they deſcried, near break of day, a Dutch fleet of ſeventy-ſix veſſels, ſailing up the channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchantmen, who had received orders to wait at the iſle of Rhé, till the fleet ſhould arrive to eſcort them. Tromp, and, under him, de Ruiter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the moſt furious that had yet been fought between theſe warlike and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued with the utmoſt rage and obſtinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquiſhed. The Dutch admiral made a ſkilful retreat, and ſaved all the merchant-ſhips, except thirty. He loſt, however, eleven ſhips of war, had 2000 men ſlain, and near 1500 taken priſoners. The Engliſh, though many of their ſhips were extremely ſhattered, had but one ſunk. Their ſlain were not much inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy.

All theſe ſucceſſes of the Engliſh were chiefly owing to the ſuperior ſize of their veſſels; an advantage which all the ſkill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compenſate. By means of ſhip-money, an impoſition which had been ſo much complained of, and in ſome reſpects

ſpects with reaſon, the late king had put the navy into a ſituation which it had never attained in any former reign; and he ventured to build ſhips of a ſize which was then unuſual. But the misfortunes which the Dutch met with in battle, were ſmall in compariſon of thoſe which their trade ſuſtained from the Engliſh. Their whole commerce by the channel was cut off: Even that to the Baltic was much infeſted by Engliſh privateers. Their fiſheries were totally ſuſpended. A great number of their ſhips, above 1600, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. And all this diſtreſs they ſuffered, not for any national intereſts or neceſſity; but from vain points of honour and perſonal reſentments, of which it was difficult to give a ſatisfactory account to the public. They reſolved, therefore, to gratify the pride of the parliament, and to make ſome advances towards peace. They met not, however, with a favourable reception; and it was not without pleaſure that they learned the diſſolution of that haughty aſſembly by the violence of Cromwel; an event from which they expected a more proſperous turn to their affairs.

The zealous republicans in the parliament had not been the chief or firſt promoters of the war; but when it was once entered upon, they endeavoured to draw from it every poſſible advantage. On all occaſions they ſet up the fleet in oppoſition to the army, and celebrated the glory and ſucceſſes of their naval armaments. They inſiſted on the intolerable expenſe to which the nation was ſubjected, and urged the neceſſity of diminiſhing it, by a reduction of the land-forces. They had ordered ſome regiments to ſerve on board the fleet, in the quality of marines. And Cromwel, by the whole train of their proceedings, evidently ſaw that they had entertained a jealouſy of his power and ambition, and were reſolved to bring him to a ſubordination under their authority. Without ſcruple or delay he reſolved to prevent them.

On ſuch firm foundations was built the credit of this extraordinary man, that though a great maſter of fraud and diſſimulation, he judged it ſuperfluous to employ any diſguiſe in conducting this bold enterpriſe. He ſummoned

moned a general council of officers; and immediately found that they were diſpoſed to receive whatever impreſſions he was pleaſed to give them. Moſt of them were his creatures, had owed their advancement to his favour, and relied entirely upon him for their future preferment. The breach being already made between the military and civil powers, when the late king was ſeized at Holdenby; the general officers regarded the parliament as at once their creature and their rival; and thought that they themſelves were entitled to ſhare among them thoſe offices and riches, of which its members had ſo long kept poſſeſſion. Harriſon, Rich, Overton, and a few others, who retained ſome principle, were guided by notions ſo extravagant, that they were eaſily deluded into meaſures the moſt violent and moſt criminal. And the whole army had already been guilty of ſuch illegal and atrocious actions, that they could entertain no farther ſcruple with regard to any enterpriſe which might ſerve their ſelfiſh or fanatical purpoſes.

In the council of officers it was preſently voted to frame a remonſtrance to the parliament. After complaining of the arrears due to the army, they there deſired the parliament to reflect how many years they had ſitten, and what profeſſions they had formerly made of their intentions to new-model the repreſentative, and eſtabliſh ſucceſſive parliaments, who might bear the burden of national affairs, from which they themſelves would gladly, after ſo much danger and fatigue, be at laſt relieved. They confeſſed that the parliament had atchieved great enterpriſes, and had ſurmounted mighty difficulties; yet was it an injury, they ſaid, to the reſt of the nation to be excluded from bearing any part in the ſervice of their country. It was now full time for them to give place to others; and they therefore deſired them, after ſettling a council, who might execute the laws during the interval, to ſummon a new parliament, and eſtabliſh that free and equal government, which they had ſo long promiſed to the people.

The parliament took this remonſtrance in ill part, and made a ſharp reply to the council of officers. The officers

ficers inſiſted on their advice; and by mutual altercation and oppoſition the breach became ſtill wider between the army and the commonwealth. Cromwel, finding matters ripe for his purpoſe, called a council of officers *, in order to come to a determination with regard to the public ſettlement. As he had here many friends, ſo had he alſo ſome opponents. Harriſon having aſſured the council that the general ſought only to pave the way for the government of Jeſus and his ſaints, major Streater briſkly replied, that Jeſus ought then to come quickly: For if he delayed it till after Chriſtmas, he would come too late; he would find his place occupied. While the officers were in debate, colonel Ingoldſby informed Cromwel, that the parliament was ſitting, and had come to a reſolution not to diſſolve themſelves, but to fill up the houſe by new elections; and was at that very time engaged in deliberations with regard to this expedient. Cromwel in a rage immediately haſtened to the houſe, and carried a body of 300 ſoldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, ſome in the lobby, ſome on the ſtairs. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St. John, and told him that he had come with a purpoſe of doing what grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears beſought the Lord not to impoſe upon him: But there was a neceſſity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He ſat down for ſome time, and heard the debate. He beckoned Harriſon, and told him that he now judged the parliament ripe for a diſſolution. "Sir," ſaid Harriſon, "the work is very great and dangerous: I deſire you "ſeriouſly to conſider, before you engage in it."—"You "ſay well," replied the general; and thereupon ſat ſtill about a quarter of an hour. When the queſtion was ready to be put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, "This is "the time: I muſt do it." And ſuddenly ſtarting up, he loaded the parliament with the vileſt reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, oppreſſion, and robbery of the public. Then ſtamping with his foot, which was a

* 10th April.

ſignal

ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, "For ſhame," ſaid he to the parliament, "get you gone; give place to honeſter "men; to thoſe who will more faithfully diſcharge their "truſt. You are no longer a parliament: I tell you, "you are no longer a parliament: The Lord has done "with you: He has choſen other inſtruments for car-"rying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming againſt this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, "O! "ſir Harry Vane, ſir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me "from ſir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, "Thou art a whore-maſter," ſaid he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton:" "And thou "an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a ſoldier to ſeize the mace. "What ſhall we do with this "bauble? Here take it away. It is you," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the houſe, "that have forced me "upon this. I have ſought the Lord night and day, "that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon this "work." Having commanded the ſoldiers to clear the hall, he himſelf went out the laſt, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

In this furious manner, which ſo well denotes his genuine character, did Cromwel, without the leaſt oppoſition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous aſſembly, which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with aſtoniſhment at its crimes, and whoſe commencement was not more ardently deſired by the people than was its final diſſolution. All parties now reaped ſucceſſively the melancholy pleaſure of ſeeing the injuries which they had ſuffered, revenged on their enemies; and that too by the ſame arts which had been practiſed againſt them. The king had, in ſome inſtances, ſtretched his prerogative beyond its juſt bounds; and, aided by the church, had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The preſbyterians checked the progreſs of the court and clergy, and excited, by cant and hypocriſy, the populace, firſt to tumults, then to war, againſt the king, the peers, and all the royaliſts.

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No ſooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur, than the independents, under the appearance of ſtill greater ſanctity, inſtigated the army againſt them, and reduced them to ſubjection. The independents, amidſt their empty dreams of liberty, or rather of dominion, were oppreſſed by the rebellion of their own ſervants, and found themſelves at once expoſed to the inſults of power and hatred of the people. By recent, as well as all ancient, example, it was become evident that illegal violence, with whatever pretences it may be covered, and whatever object it may purſue, muſt inevitably end at laſt in the arbitrary and deſpotic government of a ſingle perſon.

CHAP. LXI.

Cromwel's birth and private life—Barebone's parliament—Cromwel made protector—Peace with Holland—A new parliament—Inſurrection of the royaliſts—State of Europe—War with Spain—Jamaica conquered—Succeſs and death of admiral Blake—Domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel—Humble petition and advice—Dunkirk taken—Sickneſs of the protector—his death—and character.

OLIVER Cromwel, in whoſe hands the diſſolution of the parliament had left the whole power, civil and military, of three kingdoms, was born at Huntingdon, the laſt year of the former century, of a good family; though he himſelf, being the ſon of a ſecond brother, inherited but a ſmall eſtate from his father. In the courſe of his education he had been ſent to the univerſity; but his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning, and he made ſmall proficiencies in his ſtudies. He even threw himſelf into a diſſolute and diſorderly courſe of life; and he conſumed in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots, the

more early years of his youth, and diſſipated part of his patrimony. All of a ſudden, the ſpirit of reformation ſeized him; he married, affected a grave and compoſed behaviour, entered into all the zeal and rigour of the puritanical party, and offered to reſtore to every one whatever ſums he had formerly gained by gaming. The ſame vehemence of temper, which had tranſported him into the extremes of pleaſure, now diſtinguiſhed his religious habits. His houſe was the reſort of all the zealous clergy of the party; and his hoſpitality, as well as his liberalities to the ſilenced and deprived miniſters, proved as chargeable as his former debaucheries. Though he had acquired a tolerable fortune by a maternal uncle, he found his affairs ſo injured by his expenſes, that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives, and apply himſelf, for ſome years, to agriculture as a profeſſion. But this expedient ſerved rather to involve him in farther debts and difficulties. The long prayers which he ſaid to his family in the morning, and again in the afternoon, conſumed his own time and that of his ploughmen; and he reſerved no leiſure for the care of his temporal affairs. His active mind, ſuperior to the low occupations to which he was condemned, preyed upon itſelf; and he indulged his imagination in viſions, illuminations, revelations; the great nouriſhment of that hypochondriacal temper, to which he was ever ſubject. Urged by his wants and his piety, he had made a party with Hambden, his near kinſman, who was preſſed only by the latter motive to tranſport himſelf into New England, now become the retreat of the more zealous among the puritanical party; and it was an order of council which obliged them to diſembark and remain in England. The earl of Bedford, who poſſeſſed a large eſtate in the Fen Country, near the iſle of Ely, having undertaken to drain theſe moraſſes, was obliged to apply to the king; and by the powers of the prerogative, he got commiſſioners appointed, who conducted that work, and divided the new-acquired land among the ſeveral proprietors. He met with oppoſition from many, among whom Cromwel diſtinguiſhed

tinguiſhed himſelf; and this was the firſt public opportunity which he had met with, of diſcovering the factious zeal and obſtinacy of his character.

From accident and intrigue he was choſen by the town of Cambridge member of the long parliament. His domeſtic affairs were then in great diſorder; and he ſeemed not to poſſeſs any talents which could qualify him to riſe in that public ſphere into which he was now at laſt entered. His perſon was ungraceful, his dreſs ſlovenly, his voice untunable, his elocution homely, tedious, obſcure, and embarraſſed. The fervour of his ſpirit frequently prompted him to riſe in the houſe; but he was not heard with attention: His name, for above two years, is not to be found oftener than twice in any committee; and thoſe committees, into which he was admitted, were choſen for affairs which would more intereſt the zealots than the men of buſineſs. In compariſon of the eloquent ſpeakers and fine gentlemen of the houſe, he was entirely overlooked; and his friend Hambden alone was acquainted with the depth of his genius, and foretold that, if a civil war ſhould enſue, he would ſoon riſe to eminence and diſtinction.

Cromwel himſelf ſeems to have been conſcious where his ſtrength lay; and partly from that motive, partly from the uncontrollable fury of his zeal, he always joined that party which puſhed every thing to extremities againſt the king. He was active in promoting the famous remonſtrance, which was the ſignal for all the enſuing commotions; and when, after a long debate, it was carried by a ſmall majority, he told lord Falkland, that if the queſtion had been loſt, he was reſolved next day to have converted into ready money the remains of his fortune, and immediately to have left the kingdom. Nor was this reſolution, he ſaid, peculiar to himſelf: Many others of his party he knew to be equally determined.

He was no leſs than forty-three years of age, when he firſt embraced the military profeſſion; and by force of genius, without any maſter, he ſoon became an excellent officer; though perhaps he never reached the fame of a

conſummate commander. He raiſed a troop of horſe; fixed his quarters in Cambridge; exerted great ſeverity towards that univerſity, which zealouſly adhered to the royal party; and ſhowed himſelf a man who would go all lengths in favour of that cauſe which he had eſpouſed. He would not allow his ſoldiers to perplex their heads with thoſe ſubtleties of fighting by the king's authority againſt his perſon, and of obeying his majeſty's commands ſignified by both houſes of parliament: He plainly told them that, if he met the king in battle, he would fire a piſtol in his face as readily as againſt any other man. His troop of horſe he ſoon augmented to a regiment; and he firſt inſtituted that diſcipline, and inſpired that ſpirit, which rendered the parliamentary armies in the end victorious. "Your troops," ſaid he to Hambden, according to his own account, "are moſt of them "old decayed ſerving-men and tapſters, and ſuch kind "of fellows; the king's forces are compoſed of gentle-"men's younger ſons and perſons of good quality. "And do you think that the mean ſpirits of ſuch baſe "and low fellows as ours will ever be able to encounter "gentlemen, that have honour and courage and reſo-"lution in them? You muſt get men of ſpirit, and "take it not ill that I ſay, of a ſpirit that is likely to "go as far as gentlemen will go, or elſe I am ſure you "will ſtill be beaten, as you have hitherto been, in every "encounter." He did as he propoſed. He enliſted the ſons of freeholders and farmers. He carefully invited into his regiment all the zealous fanatics throughout England. When they were collected in a body, their enthuſiaſtic ſpirit ſtill roſe to a higher pitch. Their colonel, from his own natural character, as well as from policy, was ſufficiently inclined to increaſe the flame. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he puniſhed, he rewarded. The wild enthuſiaſm, together with valour and diſcipline, ſtill propagated itſelf; and all men caſt their eyes on ſo pious and ſo ſucceſsful a leader. From low commands he roſe with great rapidity to be really the firſt, though in appearance only the ſecond, in the army. By fraud and violence, he ſoon rendered himſelf

ſelf the firſt in the ſtate. In proportion to the increaſe of his authority, his talents always ſeemed to expand themſelves; and he diſplayed every day new abilities, which had lain dormant till the very emergence by which they were called forth into action. All Europe ſtood aſtoniſhed to ſee a nation, ſo turbulent and unruly, who, for ſome doubtful encroachments on their privileges, had dethroned and murdered an excellent prince, deſcended from a long line of monarchs, now at laſt ſubdued and reduced to ſlavery by one who, a few years before, was no better than a private gentleman, whoſe name was not known in the nation, and who was little regarded even in that low ſphere to which he had always been confined.

The indignation entertained by the people, againſt an authority, founded on ſuch manifeſt uſurpation, was not ſo violent as might naturally be expected. Congratulatory addreſſes, the firſt of the kind, were made to Cromwel by the fleet, by the army, even by many of the chief corporations and counties of England; but eſpecially by the ſeveral congregations of ſaints, diſperſed throughout the kingdom. The royaliſts, though they could not love the man who had embrued his hands in the blood of their ſovereign, expected more lenity from him, than from the jealous and imperious republicans, who had hitherto governed. The preſbyterians were pleaſed to ſee thoſe men, by whom they had been outwitted and expelled, now in their turn expelled and outwitted by their own ſervant; and they applauded him for this laſt act of violence upon the parliament. Theſe two parties compoſed the bulk of the nation, and kept the people in ſome tolerable temper. All men likewiſe, haraſſed with wars and factions, were glad to ſee any proſpect of ſettlement. And they deemed it leſs ignominious to ſubmit to a perſon of ſuch admirable talents and capacity than to a few ignoble enthuſiaſtic hypocrites, who, under the name of a republic, had reduced them to a cruel ſubjection.

The republicans, being dethroned by Cromwel, were the party whoſe reſentment he had the greateſt reaſon to

apprehend. That party, beſides the independents, contained two ſets of men, who are ſeemingly of the moſt oppoſite principles, but who were then united by a ſimilitude of genius and of character. The firſt and moſt numerous were the millenarians, or fifth-monarchy men, who inſiſted, that, dominion being founded in grace, all diſtinction in magiſtracy muſt be aboliſhed, except what aroſe from piety and holineſs; who expected ſuddenly the ſecond coming of Chriſt upon earth; and who pretended, that the ſaints in the meanwhile, that is, themſelves, were alone entitled to govern. The ſecond were the deiſts, who had no other object than political liberty, who denied entirely the truth of revelation, and inſinuated, that all the various ſects, ſo heated againſt each other, were alike founded in folly and in error. Men of ſuch daring geniuſes were not contented with the ancient and legal forms of civil government; but challenged a degree of freedom beyond what they expected ever to enjoy under any monarchy. Martin, Challoner, Harrington, Sidney, Wildman, Nevil, were eſteemed the heads of this ſmall diviſion.

The deiſts were perfectly hated by Cromwel, becauſe he had no hold of enthuſiaſm, by which he could govern or over-reach them; he therefore treated them with great rigour and diſdain, and uſually denominated them the *heathens*. As the milſenarians had a great intereſt in the army, it was much more important for him to gain their confidence; and their ſize of underſtanding afforded him great facility in deceiving them. Of late years it had been ſo uſual a topic of converſation to diſcourſe of parliaments and councils and ſenates, and the ſoldiers themſelves had been ſo much accuſtomed to enter into that ſpirit, that Cromwel thought it requiſite to eſtabliſh ſomething which might bear the face of a commonwealth. He ſuppoſed that God, in his providence, had thrown the whole right, as well as power, of government into his hands; and without any more ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he ſent ſummons to a hundred and twenty-eight perſons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to ſix of Ireland. He

pre-

pretended, by his ſole act and deed, to devolve upon theſe the whole authority of the ſtate. This legiſlative power they were to exerciſe during fifteen months, and they were afterwards to chuſe the ſame number of perſons, who might ſucceed them in that high and important office.

There were great numbers at that time, who made it a principle always to adhere to any power which was uppermoſt, and to ſupport the eſtabliſhed government. This maxim is not peculiar to the people of that age; but what may be eſteemed peculiar to them, is, that there prevailed a hypocritical phraſe for expreſſing ſo prudential a conduct: It was called a waiting upon providence. When providence, therefore, was ſo kind as to beſtow on theſe men, now aſſembled together, the ſupreme authority, they muſt have been very ungrateful, if, in their turn, they had been wanting in complaiſance towards her. They immediately voted themſelves a parliament; and having their own conſent, as well as that of Oliver Cromwel, for their legiſlative authority, they now proceeded very gravely to the exerciſe of it.

In this notable aſſembly were ſome perſons of the rank of gentlemen; but the far greater part were low mechanics; fifth-monarchy men, anabaptiſts, antinomians, independents; the very dregs of the fanatics. They began with ſeeking God by prayer; This office was performed by eight or ten *gifted* men of the aſſembly; and with ſo much ſucceſs, that, according to the confeſſion of all, they had never before, in any of their devotional exerciſes, enjoyed ſo much of the holy ſpirit as was then communicated to them. Their hearts were, no doubt, dilated when they conſidered the high dignity, to which they ſuppoſed themſelves exalted. They had been told by Cromwel, in his firſt diſcourſe, that he never looked to ſee ſuch a day, when Chriſt ſhould be ſo owned *. They thought

* Theſe are his expreſſions: "Indeed, I have but one "word more to ſay to you, though in that perhaps I ſhall "ſhow my weakneſs: It is by way of encouragement to you "in

thought it, therefore, their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer, and for that great work which, it was expected, the Lord was to bring forth among them. All fanatics, being conſecrated by their own fond imaginations, naturally bear an antipathy to the eccleſiaſtics, who claim a peculiar ſanctity, derived merely from their office and prieſtly character. This parliament took into conſideration the abolition of the clerical function, as ſavouring of popery; and the taking away of tithes, which they called a relict of Judaiſm. Learning alſo and the univerſities were deemed heatheniſh and unneceſſary: The common law was denominated a badge of the conqueſt and of Norman ſlavery; and they threatened the lawyers with a total abrogation of their profeſſion. Some ſteps were even taken towards an abolition of the chancery, the higheſt court of judicature in the kingdom; and the Moſaical law was intended to be eſtabliſhed as the ſole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence.

" in this work; give me leave to begin thus: I confeſs I " never looked to have ſeen ſuch a day as this, it may be nor " you neither, when Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be ſo owned as he " is at this day and in this work. Jeſus Chriſt is owned this " day by your call, and you own him by your willingneſs to " appear for him, and you manifeſt this (as far as poor crea- " tures can do) to be a day of the power of Chriſt. I know " you will remember that ſcripture, *he makes his people willing* " *in the day of his power.* God manifeſts it to be the day of " the power of Chriſt, having through ſo much blood and ſo " much trial as has been upon this nation, he makes this one " of the greateſt mercies, next to his own Son, to have his " people called to the ſupreme authority. God hath owned " his Son, and hath owned you, and hath made you to own " him. I confeſs, I never looked to have ſeen ſuch a day: I " did not:" I ſuppoſe at this paſſage he cried: For he was very much given to weeping, and could at any time ſhed abundance of tears. The reſt of the ſpeech may be ſeen among Milton's State Papers, p. 106 It is very curious, and full of the ſame obſcurity, confuſion, embarraſſment and abſurdity, which appear in almoſt all Oliver's productions.

Of

Of all the extraordinary ſchemes adopted by theſe legiſlators, they had not leiſure to finiſh any, except that which eſtabliſhed the legal ſolemnization of marriage by the civil magiſtrate alone, without the interpoſition of the clergy. They found themſelves expoſed to the deriſion of the public. Among the fanatics of the houſe, there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, ſermons, and harangues. He was a leather-ſeller in London: His name *Praiſe-god Barebone*. This ridiculous name, which ſeems to have been choſen by ſome poet or allegoriſt to ſuit ſo ridiculous a perſonage, ſtruck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this aſſembly the appellation of Barebone's parliament *.

The

* It was uſual for the pretended ſaints at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, William, which they regarded as heatheniſh, into others more ſanctified and godly: Even the New-Teſtament names, James, Andrew, John, Peter, were not held in ſuch regard as thoſe which were borrowed from the Old Teſtament, Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joſhua, Zerobabel. Sometimes a whole godly ſentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury ſaid to be encloſed in the county of Suſſex about that time;

Accepted, Trevor of Norſham.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield.
Make peace, Heaton of Hare.
God Reward, Smart of Fivehurſt.
Standfaſt on High, Stringer of Crowhurſt.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lower of the ſame.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.
Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be Faithful, Joiner of Britling.
Fly Debate, Roberts of the ſame.
Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of Eaſt Hadley.
Hope for, Bending of the ſame.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Weep not, Billing of the ſame.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

See Broome's Travels in England, p. 279. "Cromwel," ſays Cleveland, "hath beat up his drums clean through the "Old Teſtament. You may learn the genealogy of our "Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muſter-"maſter has no other liſt than the firſt chapter of St. Mat-"thew." The brother of this Praiſe-god Barebone had for name, *If Chriſt had not died for you, you had been damned Barebone*.

The Dutch ambaſſadors endeavoured to enter into negotiation with this parliament; but, though proteſtants and even preſbyterians, they met with a bad reception from thoſe who pretended to a ſanctity ſo much ſuperior. The Hollanders were regarded as worldly-minded men, intent only on commerce and induſtry; whom it was fitting the ſaints ſhould firſt extirpate, ere they undertook that great work, to which they believed themſelves deſtined by providence, of ſubduing Antichriſt, the man of ſin, and extending to the uttermoſt bounds of the earth the kingdom of the Redeemer. The ambaſſadors finding themſelves proſcribed, not as enemies of England, but of Chriſt, remained in aſtoniſhment, and knew not which was moſt to be admired, the implacable ſpirit or egregious folly of theſe pretended ſaints.

Cromwel began to be aſhamed of his legiſlature. If he ever had any deſign in ſummoning ſo prepoſterous an aſſembly beyond amuſing the populace and the army, he had intended to alarm the clergy and lawyers; and he had ſo far ſucceeded as to make them deſire any other government, which might ſecure their profeſſions, now brought in danger by theſe deſperate fanatics. Cromwel himſelf was diſſatisfied, that the parliament, though they had derived all their authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord, and to inſiſt already on their divine commiſſion. He had been careful to ſummon in his writs ſeveral perſons entirely devoted to him. By concert, theſe met early; and it was mentioned by ſome among them, that the ſitting of this parliament any longer would be of no ſervice to the nation. (12th Dec.) They haſtened, therefore, to Cromwel, along with Rouſe, their ſpeaker; and, by a formal deed or aſſignment, reſtored into his hands that ſupreme authority which they had ſo lately received from him. General Harriſon and about twenty more remained in the houſe; and that they might prevent the reign of the ſaints from coming to an

bone. But the people, tired of this long name, retained only the laſt word, and commonly gave him the appellation of *Damn'd Barebone.*

untimely

untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up proteſts. They were ſoon interrupted by colonel White, with a party of ſoldiers. He aſked them what they did there? "We are ſeeking the Lord," ſaid they. "Then you may go elſewhere," replied he: "For, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here "theſe many years."

The military being now, in appearance, as well as in reality, the ſole power which prevailed in the nation, Cromwel thought fit to indulge a new fancy: For he ſeems not to have had any deliberate plan in all theſe alterations. Lambert, his creature, who, under the appearance of obſequiouſneſs to him, indulged an unbounded ambition, propoſed in a council of officers to adopt another ſcheme of government, and to temper the liberty of a commonwealth by the authority of a ſingle perſon, who ſhould be known by the appellation of protector. Without delay, he prepared what was called *the inſtrument of government*, containing the plan of this new legiſlature; and, as it was ſuppoſed to be agreeable to the general, it was immediately voted by the council of officers. Cromwel was declared protector; and with great ſolemnity inſtalled in that high office.

So little were theſe men endowed with the ſpirit of legiſlation, that they confeſſed, or rather boaſted, that they had employed only four days in drawing this inſtrument, by which the whole government of three kingdoms was pretended to be regulated and adjuſted to all ſucceeding generations. There appears no difficulty in believing them; when it is conſidered how crude and undigeſted a ſyſtem of civil policy they endeavoured to eſtabliſh. The chief articles of the inſtrument are theſe: A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector choſe one. The protector was appointed ſupreme magiſtrate of the commonwealth: In his name was all juſtice to be adminiſtered; from him were all magiſtracy and honours derived; he had the

the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treaſon; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance, reſted in him; but in theſe particulars he was to act by the advice and with the conſent of his council. The power of the ſword was veſted in the protector jointly with the parliament, while it was ſitting, or with the council of ſtate in the intervals. He was obliged to ſummon a parliament every three years, and allow them to ſit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution. The bills, which they paſſed, were to be preſented to the protector for his aſſent; but if within twenty days it were not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of parliament. A ſtanding army for Great Britain and Ireland was eſtabliſhed, of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horſe; and funds were aſſigned for their ſupport. Theſe were not to be diminiſhed without conſent of the protector; and in this article alone he aſſumed a negative. During the intervals of parliament, the protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were to be valid till the next meeting of parliament. The chancellor, treaſurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief juſtices of both the benches, muſt be choſen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The protector was to enjoy his office during life; and on his death, the place was immediately to be ſupplied by the council. This was the inſtrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and ſolemnly ſworn to by Oliver Cromwel. The council of ſtate, named by the inſtrument, were fifteen; men entirely devoted to the protector, and by reaſon of the oppoſition among themſelves in party and principles, not likely ever to combine againſt him.

Cromwel ſaid, that he accepted the dignity of protector, merely that he might exert the duty of a conſtable, and preſerve peace in the nation. Affairs indeed were brought to that paſs, by the furious animoſities of the ſeveral factions, that the extenſive authority and even

arbitrary power of ſome firſt magiſtrate was become a neceſſary evil, in order to keep the people from relapſing into blood and confuſion. The independents were too ſmall a party ever to eſtabliſh a popular government, or entruſt the nation, where they had ſo little intereſt, with the free choice of its repreſentatives. The preſbyterians had adopted the violent maxims of perſecution; incompatible at all times with the peace of ſociety, much more with the wild zeal of thoſe numerous ſects which prevailed among the people. The royaliſts were ſo much enraged by the injuries which they had ſuffered, that the other prevailing parties would never ſubmit to them, who, they knew, were enabled, merely by the execution of the ancient laws, to take ſevere vengeance upon them. Had Cromwel been guilty of no crime but this temporary uſurpation, the plea of neceſſity and public good, which he alleged, might be allowed, in every view, a reaſonable excuſe for his conduct.

During the variety of ridiculous and diſtracted ſcenes, which the civil government exhibited in England, the military force was exerted with vigour, conduct, and unanimity; and never did the kingdom appear more formidable to all foreign nations. The Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of a hundred ſail, and commanded by Monk and Dean, and under them by Pen and Lauſon, met, near the coaſt of Flanders, with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, and commanded by Tromp. The two republics were not inflamed by any national antipathy, and their intereſts very little interfered: Yet few battles have been diſputed with more fierce and obſtinate courage than were thoſe many naval combats, which were fought during this ſhort, but violent, war. The deſire of remaining ſole lords of the ocean animated theſe ſtates to an honourable emulation againſt each other. After a battle of two days, in the firſt of which Dean was killed, the Dutch, inferior in the ſize of their ſhips, were obliged, with great loſs, to retire into their harbours. Blake, towards the end of the fight, joined his countrymen with eighteen ſail. The Engliſh fleet lay off the coaſt

of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of that republic.

The ambaſſadors, whom the Dutch had ſent over to England, gave them hopes of peace. But as they could obtain no ceſſation of hoſtilities, the States, unwilling to ſuffer any longer the loſs and diſhonour of being blockaded by the enemy, made the utmoſt efforts to recover their injured honour. Never on any occaſion did the power and vigour of that republic appear in a more conſpicuous light. In a few weeks, they had repaired and manned their fleet; and they equipped ſome ſhips of a larger ſize than any which they had hitherto ſent to ſea. Tromp iſſued out, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than to yield the conteſt. He met with the enemy, commanded by Monk; and both ſides immediately ruſhed into the combat. (29th July.) Tromp, gallantly animating his men, with his ſword drawn, was ſhot through the heart with a muſquet ball. This event alone decided the battle in favour of the Engliſh. Though near thirty ſhips of the Dutch were ſunk and taken, they little regarded this loſs compared with that of their brave admiral.

Meanwhile the negotiations of peace were continually advancing. The States, overwhelmed with the expence of the war, terrified by their loſſes, and mortified by their defeats, were extremely deſirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they found, by experience, too powerful for them. The king having ſhown an inclination to ſerve on board their fleet, though they expreſſed their ſenſe of the honour intended them, they declined an offer, which might inflame the quarrel with the Engliſh commonwealth. The great obſtacle to the peace was found not to be any animoſity on the part of the Engliſh; but on the contrary a deſire too earneſt of union and confederacy. Cromwel had revived the chimerical ſcheme of a coalition with the United Provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, intereſt, and councils. (1654.) This project appeared ſo wild to the States, that they wondered any man of ſenſe could ever

ever entertain it; and they refuſed to enter into conferences with regard to a propoſal, which could ſerve only to delay any practicable ſcheme of accommodation. (April 15.) The peace was at laſt ſigned by Cromwel, now inveſted with the dignity of protector; and it proves ſufficiently, that the war had been impolitic, ſince, after the moſt ſignal victories, no terms more advantageous could be obtained. A defenſive league was made between the two republics. They agreed, each of them, to baniſh the enemies of the other; thoſe who had been concerned in the maſſacre of Amboyna were to be puniſhed, if any remained alive; the honour of the flag was yielded to the Engliſh; eighty-five thouſand pounds were ſtipulated to be paid by the Dutch Eaſt-India company for loſſes which the Engliſh company had ſuſtained; and the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies was promiſed to be ceded to the latter.

Cromwel, jealous of the connexions between the royal family and that of Orange, inſiſted on a ſeparate article; that neither the young prince nor any of his family ſhould ever be inveſted with the dignity of ſtadtholder. The province of Holland, ſtrongly prejudiced againſt that office, which they eſteemed dangerous to liberty, ſecretly ratified this article. The protector, knowing that the other provinces would not be induced to make ſuch a conceſſion, was ſatisfied with the ſecurity.

The Dutch war being ſucceſsful, and the peace reaſonable, brought credit to Cromwel's adminiſtration. An act of juſtice, which he exerciſed at home, gave likewiſe ſatisfaction to the people; though the regularity of it may perhaps appear ſomewhat doubtful. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and joined with him in the ſame commiſſion, fancying himſelf to be inſulted, came upon the exchange, armed and attended by ſeveral ſervants. By miſtake, he fell on a gentleman, whom he took for the perſon that had given him the offence; and having butchered him with many wounds, he and all his attendants took ſhelter in the houſe of the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who had connived at this baſe enterpriſe. The populace ſurrounded the

houſe, and threatened to ſet fire to it. Cromwel ſent a guard, who ſeized all the criminals. They were brought to trial: And notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ambaſſador, who pleaded the privileges of his office, don Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill. The laws of nations were here plainly violated: But the crime committed by the Portugueſe gentleman was to the laſt degree atrocious; and the vigorous chaſtiſement of it, ſuiting ſo well the undaunted character of Cromwel, was univerſally approved of at home and admired among foreign nations. The ſituation of Portugal obliged that court to acquieſce; and the ambaſſador ſoon after ſigned with the protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the Engliſh commerce.

Another act of ſeverity, but neceſſary in his ſituation, was, at the very ſame time, exerciſed by the protector, in the capital puniſhment of Gerard and Vowel, two royaliſts, who were accuſed of conſpiring againſt his life. He had erected a high court of juſtice for their trial; an infringement of the ancient laws, which at this time was become familiar, but one to which no cuſtom or precedent could reconcile the nation. Juries were found altogether unmanageable. The reſtleſs Lilburn, for new offences, had been brought to a new trial; and had been acquitted with new triumph and exultation. If no other method of conviction had been deviſed during this illegal and unpopular government, all its enemies were aſſured of entire impunity.

(3d Sept.) The protector had occaſion to obſerve the prejudices entertained againſt his government, by the diſpoſition of the parliament, which he ſummoned on the third of September, that day of the year on which he gained his two great victories of Dunbar and Worceſter, and which he always regarded as fortunate for him. It muſt be confeſſed, that, if we are left to gather Cromwel's intentions from his inſtrument of government, it is ſuch a motley piece, that we cannot eaſily conjecture, whether he ſeriouſly meant to eſtabliſh a tyranny or a republic. On one hand, a firſt magiſtrate, in ſo extenſive a government, ſeemed neceſſary both for the dignity and

and tranquillity of the ſtate; and the authority, which he aſſumed as protector, was, in ſome reſpects, inferior to the prerogatives, which the laws entruſted and ſtill entruſt to the king. On the other hand, the legiſlative power, which he reſerved to himſelf and council, together with ſo great an army, independent of the parliament, were bad prognoſtics of his intention to ſubmit to a civil and legal conſtitution. But if this were not his intention, the method in which he diſtributed and conducted the elections, being ſo favourable to liberty, forms an inconſiſtency which is not eaſily accounted for. He deprived of their right of election all the ſmall boroughs, places the moſt expoſed to influence and corruption. Of 400 members, which repreſented England, 270 were choſen by the counties. The reſt were elected by London, and the more conſiderable corporations. The lower populace too, ſo eaſily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections: An eſtate of two hundred pounds value was neceſſary to entitle any one to a vote. The elections of this parliament were conducted with perfect freedom; and, excepting that ſuch of the royaliſts as had borne arms againſt the parliament and all their ſons were excluded, a more fair repreſentation of the people could not be deſired or expected. Thirty members were returned from Scotland; as many from Ireland.

The protector ſeems to have been diſappointed, when he found that all theſe precautions, which were probably nothing but covers to his ambition, had not procured him the confidence of the public. Though Cromwel's adminiſtration was leſs odious to every party than that of any other party, yet was it entirely acceptable to none. The royaliſts had been inſtructed by the king to remain quiet, and to cover themſelves under the appearance of republicans; and they found in this latter faction ſuch inveterate hatred againſt the protector, that they could not wiſh for more zealous adverſaries to his authority. It was maintained by them, that the pretence of liberty and a popular election was but a new artifice of this great deceiver, in order to lay aſleep the deluded nation, and give himſelf leiſure to rivet their

chains more ſecurely upon them: That in the inſtrument of government he openly declared his intention of ſtill retaining the ſame mercenary army, by whoſe aſſiſtance he had ſubdued the ancient eſtabliſhed government, and who would with leſs ſcruple obey him, in overturning, whenever he ſhould pleaſe to order them, that new ſyſtem, which he himſelf had been pleaſed to model: That being ſenſible of the danger and uncertainty of all military government, he endeavoured to intermix ſome appearance, and but an appearance, of civil adminiſtration, and to balance the army by a ſeeming conſent of the people: That the abſurd trial, which he had made, of a parliament, elected by himſelf, appointed perpetually to elect their ſucceſſors, plainly proved, that he aimed at nothing but temporary expedients, was totally averſe to a free republican government, and poſſeſſed not that mature and deliberate reflection, which could qualify him to act the part of a legiſlator: That his imperious character, which had betrayed itſelf in ſo many incidents, could never ſeriouſly ſubmit to legal limitations; nor would the very image of popular government be longer upheld than while conformable to his arbitrary will and pleaſure: And that the beſt policy was to oblige him to take off the maſk at once; and either ſubmit entirely to that parliament which he had ſummoned, or, by totally rejecting its authority, leave himſelf no reſource but in his ſeditious and enthuſiaſtic army.

In proſecution of theſe views, the parliament, having heard the protector's ſpeech, three hours long, and having choſen Lenthal for their ſpeaker, immediately entered into a diſcuſſion of the pretended inſtrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwel, by the title of protector, had aſſumed over the nation. The greateſt liberty was uſed in arraigning this new dignity; and even the perſonal character and conduct of Cromwel eſcaped not without cenſure. The utmoſt that could be obtained by the officers and by the court party, for ſo they were called, was to protract the debate by arguments and long ſpeeches, and prevent the deciſion of a queſtion, which, they were ſenſible, would be carried againſt

againſt them by a great majority. The protector, ſurpriſed and enraged at this refractory ſpirit in the parliament, which however he had ſo much reaſon to expect, ſent for them to the painted chamber, and with an air of great authority inveighed againſt their conduct. He told them that nothing could be more abſurd than for them to diſpute his title; ſince the ſame inſtrument of government which made them a parliament, had inveſted him with the protectorſhip; that ſome points in the new conſtitution were ſuppoſed to be fundamentals, and were not on any pretence to be altered or diſputed; that among theſe were the government of the nation by a ſingle perſon and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the ſucceſſion of new parliaments, and liberty of conſcience; and that with regard to theſe particulars, there was reſerved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumſtances of government, he confeſſed himſelf no-wiſe entitled.

The protector now found the neceſſity of exacting a ſecurity which, had he foreſeen the ſpirit of the houſe, he would with better grace have required at their firſt meeting. He obliged the members to ſign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propoſe or conſent to any alteration in the government, as it was ſettled in a ſingle perſon and a parliament; and he placed guards at the door of the houſe, who allowed none but ſubſcribers to enter. Moſt of the members, after ſome heſitation, ſubmitted to this condition, but retained the ſame refractory ſpirit which they had diſcovered in their firſt debates. The inſtrument of government was taken in pieces, and examined, article by article, with the moſt ſcrupulous accuracy: Very free topics were advanced with the general approbation of the houſe: And during the whole courſe of their proceedings they neither ſent up one bill to the protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed that conſpiracies were entered into between the members and ſome malcontent officers, he haſtened to the diſſolution of ſo dangerous an aſſembly. (1655, 22d Jan.) By the inſtrument of government to which he had ſworn, no parliament could be diſſolved

diſſolved till it had ſitten five months; but Cromwel pretended that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practiſed in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to this reckoning, being elapſed, the parliament was ordered to attend the protector, who made them a tedious, confuſed, angry harangue, and diſmiſſed them. Were we to judge of Cromwel's capacity by this, and indeed by all his other compoſitions, we ſhould be apt to entertain no very favourable idea of it. But in the great variety of human geniuſes, there are ſome which, though they ſee their object clearly and diſtinctly in general, yet, when they come to unfold its parts by diſcourſe or writing, loſe that luminous conception which they had before attained. All accounts agree in aſcribing to Cromwel a tireſome, dark, unintelligible elocution, even when he had no intention to diſguiſe his meaning: Yet no man's actions were ever, in ſuch a variety of difficult incidents, more deciſive and judicious.

The electing of a diſcontented parliament is a proof of a diſcontented nation: The angry and abrupt diſſolution of that parliament is always ſure to increaſe the general diſcontent. The members of this aſſembly, returning to their counties, propagated that ſpirit of mutiny which they had exerted in the houſe. Sir Harry Vane and the old republicans, who maintained the indiſſoluble authority of the long parliament, encouraged the murmurs againſt the preſent uſurpation; though they acted ſo cautiouſly as to give the protector no handle againſt them. Wildman and ſome others of that party carried ſtill farther their conſpiracies againſt the protector's authority. The royaliſts, obſerving this general ill-will towards the eſtabliſhment, could no longer be retained in ſubjection; but fancied that every one who was diſſatisfied like them, had alſo embraced the ſame views and inclinations. They did not conſider that the old parliamentary party, though many of them were diſpleaſed with Cromwel, who had diſpoſſeſſed them of their power, were ſtill more apprehenſive of any

ſucceſs

ſucceſs to the royal cauſe; whence, beſides a certain proſpect of the ſame conſequence, they had ſo much reaſon to dread the ſevereſt vengeance for their paſt tranſgreſſions.

In concert with the king a conſpiracy was entered into by the royaliſts throughout England, and a day of general riſing appointed. Information of this deſign was conveyed to Cromwel. The protector's adminiſtration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his ſecretary, had ſpies every-where. Manning, who had acceſs to the king's family, kept a regular correſpondence with him. And it was not difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy, ſo generally diffuſed among a party who valued themſelves more on zeal and courage, than on ſecreſy and ſobriety. Many of the royaliſts were thrown into priſon. Others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the undertaking, and remained at home. In one place alone the conſpiracy broke into action. (11th March.) Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen of the weſt, entered Saliſbury with about 200 horſe; at the very time when the ſheriff and judges were holding the aſſizes. Theſe they made priſoners; and they proclaimed the king. Contrary to their expectations, they received no acceſſion of force; ſo prevalent was the terror of the eſtabliſhed government. Having in vain wandered about for ſome time, they were totally diſcouraged; and one troop of horſe was able at laſt to ſuppreſs them. The leaders of the conſpiracy, being taken priſoners, were capitally puniſhed. The reſt were ſold for ſlaves, and tranſported to Barbadoes.

The eaſy ſubduing of this inſurrection, which, by the boldneſs of the undertaking, ſtruck at firſt a great terror into the nation, was a ſingular felicity to the protector; who could not, without danger, have brought together any conſiderable body of his mutinous army, in order to ſuppreſs it. The very inſurrection itſelf he regarded as a fortunate event; ſince it proved the reality of thoſe conſpiracies, which his enemies, on every occaſion, repreſented as mere fictions, invented to colour his

his tyrannical ſeverities. He reſolved to keep no longer any terms with the royaliſts, who, though they were not perhaps the moſt implacable of his enemies, were thoſe whom he could oppreſs under the moſt plauſible pretences, and who met with leaſt countenance and protection from his adherents. He iſſued an edict with the conſent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from that whole party; in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expenſes to which their mutinous diſpoſition continually expoſed the public. Without regard to compoſitions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity, all the royaliſts, however haraſſed with former oppreſſions, were obliged anew to redeem themſelves by great ſums of money; and many of them were reduced by theſe multiplied diſaſters to extreme poverty. Whoever was known to be diſaffected, or even lay under any ſuſpicion, though no guilt could be proved againſt him, was expoſed to the new exaction.

In order to raiſe this impoſition, which commonly paſſed by the name of decimation, the protector inſtituted twelve major-generals; and divided the whole kingdom of England into ſo many military juriſdictions. Theſe men, aſſiſted by commiſſioners, had power to ſubject whom they pleaſed to decimation, to levy all the taxes impoſed by the protector and his council, and to impriſon any perſon who ſhould be expoſed to their jealouſy or ſuſpicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the protector himſelf and his council. Under colour of theſe powers, which were ſufficiently exorbitant, the major-generals exerciſed an authority ſtill more arbitrary, and acted as if abſolute maſters of the property and perſon of every ſubject. All reaſonable men now concluded, that the very maſque of liberty was thrown aſide, and that the nation was for ever ſubjected to military and deſpotic government, exerciſed not in the legal manner of European nations, but according to the maxims of eaſtern tyranny. Not only the ſupreme magiſtrate owed his authority to illegal force and uſurpation: He had parcelled out the people into ſo many ſubdiviſions of ſlavery, and had delegated to his inferior miniſters the ſame

ſame unlimited authority which he himſelf had ſo violently aſſumed.

A government totally military and deſpotic is almoſt ſure, after ſome time, to fall into impotence and languor: But when it immediately ſucceeds a legal conſtitution, it may, at firſt, to foreign nations, appear very vigorous and active, and may exert with more unanimity that power, ſpirit, and riches, which had been acquired under a better form. It ſeems now proper, after ſo long an interval, to look abroad to the general ſtate of Europe, and to conſider the meaſures which England at this time embraced in its negotiations with the neighbouring princes. The moderate temper and unwarlike genius of the two laſt princes, the extreme difficulties under which they laboured at home, and the great ſecurity which they enjoyed from foreign enemies, had rendered them negligent of the tranſactions on the continent; and England, during their reigns, had been in a manner overlooked in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The bold and reſtleſs genius of the protector led him to extend his alliances and enterpriſes to every part of Chriſtendom; and partly from the aſcendant of his magnanimous ſpirit, partly from the ſituation of foreign kingdoms, the weight of England, even under its moſt legal and braveſt princes, was never more ſenſibly felt than during this unjuſt and violent uſurpation.

A war of thirty years, the moſt ſignal and moſt deſtructive that had appeared in modern annals, was at laſt finiſhed in Germany *; and by the treaty of Weſtphalia, were compoſed thoſe fatal quarrels which had been excited by the palatine's precipitate acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. The young palatine was reſtored to part of his dignities and of his dominions †. The rights, privileges, and authority, of

* In 1648.

† This prince, during the civil wars, had much neglected his uncle, and payed court to the parliament: He accepted of a penſion of 8000l. a year from them, and took a place in their aſſembly of divines.

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the ſeveral members of the Germanic body were fixed and aſcertained: Sovereign princes and free ſtates were in ſome degree reduced to obedience under laws: And by the valour of the heroic Guſtavus, the enterpriſes of the active Richelieu, the intrigues of the artful Mazarine, was in part effected, after an infinite expenſe of blood and treaſure, what had been fondly expected and loudly demanded from the feeble efforts of the pacific James, ſeconded by the ſcanty ſupplies of his jealous parliaments.

Sweden, which had acquired by conqueſt large dominions in the north of Germany, was engaged in enterpriſes which promiſed her, from her ſucceſs and valour, ſtill more extenſive acquiſitions on the ſide both of Poland and of Denmark. Charles X. who had mounted the throne of that kingdom after the voluntary reſignation of Chriſtina, being ſtimulated by the fame of Guſtavus as well as by his own martial diſpoſition, carried his conquering arms to the ſouth of the Baltic, and gained the celebrated battle of Warſaw, which had been obſtinately diſputed during the ſpace of three days. The protector, at the time his alliance was courted by every power in Europe, anxiouſly courted the alliance of Sweden; and he was fond of forming a confederacy with a proteſtant power of ſuch renown, even though it threatened the whole north with conqueſt and ſubjection.

The tranſactions of the parliament and protector with France had been various and complicated. The emiſſaries of Richelieu had furniſhed fuel to the flame of rebellion, when it firſt broke out in Scotland; but after the conflagration had diffuſed itſelf, the French court, obſerving the materials to be of themſelves ſufficiently combuſtible, found it unneceſſary any longer to animate the Britiſh malcontents to an oppoſition of their ſovereign. On the contrary, they offered their mediation for compoſing theſe inteſtine diſorders; and their ambaſſadors, from decency, pretended to act in concert with the court of England, and to receive directions from a prince with whom their maſter was connected with ſo near an affinity.

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Meanwhile, Richelieu died, and ſoon after him the French king, Louis XIII. leaving his ſon an infant four years old, and his widow, Anne of Auſtria, regent of the kingdom. Cardinal Mazarine ſucceeded Richelieu in the miniſtry; and the ſame general plan of policy, though by men of ſuch oppoſite characters, was ſtill continued in the French counſels. The eſtabliſhment of royal authority, the reduction of the Auſtrian family, were purſued with ardour and ſucceſs; and every year brought an acceſſion of force and grandeur to the French monarchy. Not only battles were won, towns and fortreſſes taken; the genius too of the nation ſeemed gradually to improve, and to compoſe itſelf to the ſpirit of dutiful obedience and of ſteady enterpriſe. A Condé, a Turenne, were formed; and the troops, animated by their valour, and guided by their diſcipline, acquired every day a greater aſcendant over the Spaniards. All of a ſudden, from ſome intrigues of the court, and ſome diſcontents in the courts of judicature, inteſtine commotions were excited, and every thing relapſed into confuſion. But theſe rebellions of the French, neither ennobled by the ſpirit of liberty, nor diſgraced by the fanatical extravagances which diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh civil wars, were conducted with little bloodſhed, and made but a ſmall impreſſion on the minds of the people. Though ſeconded by the force of Spain, and conducted by the prince of Condé, the malcontents, in a little time, were either expelled or ſubdued; and the French monarchy, having loſt a few of its conqueſts, returned with freſh vigour to the acquiſition of new dominion.

The queen of England and her ſon, Charles, during theſe commotions, paſſed moſt of their time at Paris, and notwithſtanding their near connexion of blood, received but few civilities, and ſtill leſs ſupport, from the French court. Had the queen-regent been ever ſo much inclined to aſſiſt the Engliſh prince, the diſorders of her own affairs would, for a long time, have rendered ſuch intenſions impracticable. The baniſhed queen had a moderate penſion aſſigned her; but it was ſo ill payed, and her credit ran ſo low, that, one morning, when the cardinal de

Retz waited on her, ſhe informed him that her daughter, the princeſs Henrietta, was obliged to lie abed, for want of a fire to warm her. To ſuch a condition was reduced, in the midſt of Paris, a queen of England, and daughter of Henry IV. of France!

The Engliſh parliament, however, having aſſumed the ſovereignty of the ſtate, reſented the countenance, cold as it was, which the French court gave to the unfortunate monarch. On pretence of injuries, of which the Engliſh merchants complained, they iſſued letters of repriſal upon the French; and Blake went ſo far as to attack and ſeize a whole ſquadron of ſhips, which were carrying ſupplies to Dunkirk, then cloſely beſieged by the Spaniards. That town, diſappointed of theſe ſupplies, fell into the hands of the enemy. The French miniſters ſoon found it neceſſary to change their meaſures. They treated Charles with ſuch affected indifference, that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and prevent the indignity of being deſired to leave the kingdom. He went firſt to Spaw, thence he retired to Cologne; where he lived two years on a ſmall penſion, about 6000 pounds a-year, payed him by the court of France, and on ſome contributions ſent him by his friends in England. In the management of his family, he diſcovered a diſpoſition to order and economy; and his temper, cheerful, careleſs, and ſociable, was more than a ſufficient compenſation for that empire, of which his enemies had bereaved him. Sir Edward Hyde, created lord chancellor, and the marquis of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidents.

If the French miniſtry had thought it prudent to bend under the Engliſh parliament, they deemed it ſtill more neceſſary to pay deference to the protector, when he aſſumed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom all the councils of France were directed, was artful and vigilant, ſupple and patient, falſe and intriguing; deſirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, and placing his honour more in the final ſucceſs of his meaſures than in the ſplendour and magnanimity of the means which he employed. Cromwel, by his imperious

perious character, rather than by the advantage of his ſituation, acquired an aſcendant over this man; and every propoſal made by the protector, however unreaſonable in itſelf and urged with whatever inſolence, met with a ready compliance from the politic and timid cardinal. Bourdeaux was ſent over to England as miniſter; and all circumſtances of reſpect were paid to the daring uſurper, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, a prince ſo nearly related to the royal family of France. With indefatigable patience did Bourdeaux conduct this negotiation, which Cromwel ſeemed entirely to neglect; and though privateers, with Engliſh commiſſions, committed daily depredations on the French commerce, Mazarine was content, in hopes of a fortunate iſſue, ſtill to ſubmit to theſe indignities *.

The court of Spain, leſs connected with the unfortunate royal family, and reduced to greater diſtreſs than the French monarchy, had been ſtill more forward in her advances to the proſperous parliament and protector. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spaniſh envoy, was the firſt public miniſter who recogniſed the authority of the new republic; and, in return for this civility, Aſcham was ſent envoy into Spain by the parliament. No ſooner had this miniſter arrived in Madrid, than ſome of the baniſhed royaliſts, inflamed by that inveterate hatred which animated the Engliſh factions, broke into his chamber, and murdered him, together with his ſecretary. Immediately they took ſanctuary in the churches; and, aſſiſted by the general favour, which every-where attended the roya' cauſe, were enabled, moſt of them, to make their eſcape. Only one of the criminals ſuffered death; and the parliament ſeemed to reſt ſatisfied with this atonement.

Spain at this time, aſſailed every-where by vigorous enemies from without, and labouring under many internal diſorders, retained nothing of her former grandeur,

* In the treaty, which was ſigned after long negotiation, the protector's name was inſerted before the French king's in that copy which remained in England.

except the haughty pride of her counſels, and the hatred and jealouſy of her neighbours. Portugal had rebelled, and eſtabliſhed her monarchy in the houſe of Braganza: Catalonia, complaining of violated privileges, had revolted to France: Naples was ſhaken with popular convulſions: The Low Countries were invaded with ſuperior forces, and ſeemed ready to change their maſter: The Spaniſh infantry, anciently ſo formidable, had been annihilated by Condé in the fields of Rocroy: And though the ſame prince, baniſhed France, ſuſtained, by his activity and valour, the falling fortunes of Spain, he could only hope to protract, not prevent, the ruin with which that monarchy was viſibly threatened.

Had Cromwel underſtood and regarded the intereſts of his country, he would have ſupported the declining condition of Spain againſt the dangerous ambition of France, and preſerved that balance of power, on which the greatneſs and ſecurity of England ſo much depend. Had he ſtudied only his own intereſts, he would have maintained an exact neutrality between thoſe great monarchies; nor would he have hazarded his ill-acquired and unſettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend aſſiſtance to domeſtic faction, and overturn his tottering throne. But his magnanimity undervalued danger: His active diſpoſition, and avidity of extenſive glory, made him incapable of repoſe: And as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, no ſooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he ſhould invade with his victorious arms.

The extenſive empire and yet extreme weakneſs of Spain in the Weſt Indies; the vigorous courage and great naval power of England; were circumſtances which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterpriſing protector, and made him hope that he might, by ſome gainful conqueſt, render for ever illuſtrious that dominion which he had aſſumed over his country. Should he fail of theſe durable acquiſitions, the Indian treaſures, which muſt every year croſs the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a ſure prey to the Engliſh navy,

navy, and would ſupport his military force, without his laying new burdens on the diſcontented people. From France a vigorous reſiſtance muſt be expected: No plunder, no conqueſts could be hoped for: The progreſs of his arms, even if attended with ſucceſs, muſt there be ſlow and gradual: And the advantages acquired, however real, would be leſs ſtriking to the multitude, whom it was his intereſt to allure. The royal family, ſo cloſely connected with the French monarch, might receive great aſſiſtance from that neighbouring kingdom; and an army of French proteſtants, landed in England, would be able, he dreaded, to unite the moſt oppoſite factions againſt the preſent uſurpation *.

Theſe motives of policy were probably ſeconded by his bigotted prejudices; as no human mind ever contained ſo ſtrange a mixture of ſagacity and abſurdity as that of this extraordinary perſonage. The Swediſh alliance, though much contrary to the intereſts of England, he had contracted, merely from his zeal for proteſtantiſm †; and Sweden being cloſely connected with France, he could not hope to maintain that confederacy, in which he ſo much prided himſelf, ſhould a rupture enſue between England and this latter kingdom. The Hugonots, he expected, would meet with better treatment, while he engaged in a cloſe union with their ſovereign. And as the Spaniards were much more papiſts than the French, were much more expoſed to the old puritanical hatred, and had even erected the bloody tribunal of the inquiſition, whoſe rigours they had refuſed to mitigate on Cromwel's ſolicitation ‡; he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with ſuch idolaters could not fail of protec-

* See the account of the negotiations with France and Spain by Thurloe, vol. i. p. 759.

† He propoſed to Sweden a general league and confederacy of all the proteſtants. Whitlocke, p. 620. Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 1. In order to judge of the maxims by which he conducted his foreign politics, ſee farther Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 295. 343. 443. vol. vii. p. 174.

‡ Don Alonzo ſaid that the Indian trade and the inquiſition were his maſter's two eyes, and the protector inſiſted upon the putting out both of them at once.

tion from heaven. A preacher likewiſe, inſpired, as was ſuppoſed, by a prophetic ſpirit, bid him *go and proſper*; calling him *a ſtone cut out of the mountains without hands, that would break the pride of the Spaniards, cruſh Antichriſt, and make way for the purity of the Goſpel over the whole world.*

Actuated equally by theſe bigotted, theſe ambitious, and theſe intereſted motives, the protector equipped two conſiderable ſquadrons; and while he was making thoſe preparations, the neighbouring ſtates, ignorant of his intentions, remained in ſuſpenſe, and looked with anxious expectation on what ſide the ſtorm ſhould diſcharge itſelf. One of theſe ſquadrons, conſiſting of thirty capital ſhips, was ſent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whoſe fame was now ſpread over Europe. No Engliſh fleet, except during the Cruſades, had ever before ſailed in thoſe ſeas; and from one extremity to the other, there was no naval force, Chriſtian or Mahometan, able to reſiſt them. The Roman pontiff, whoſe weakneſs and whoſe pride equally provoke attacks, dreaded invaſion from a power which profeſſed the moſt inveterate enmity againſt him, and which ſo little regulated its movements by the uſual motives of intereſt and prudence. Blake, caſting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained from the duke of Tuſcany reparation for ſome loſſes which the Engliſh commerce had formerly ſuſtained from him. He next ſailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to make peace, and to reſtrain his piratical ſubjects from farther violences on the Engliſh. He preſented himſelf before Tunis; and having there made the ſame demands, the dey of that republic bid him look to the caſtles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmoſt. Blake needed not to be rouſed by ſuch a bravado: He drew his ſhips cloſe up to the caſtles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He ſent a numerous detachment of ſailors in their long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ſhip which lay there. This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered ſafe, was executed with little loſs, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of Engliſh valour.

The

The other ſquadron was not equally ſucceſsful. It was commanded by Pen, and carried on board 4000 men, under the command of Venables. About 5000 more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's. Both theſe officers were inclined to the king's ſervice; and it is pretended that Cromwel was obliged to hurry the ſoldiers on board, in order to prevent the execution of a conſpiracy which had been formed among them, in favour of the exiled family. The ill ſucceſs of this enterpriſe may juſtly be aſcribed, as much to the injudicious ſchemes of the protector, who planned it, as to the bad execution of the officers, by whom it was conducted. The ſoldiers were the refuſe of the whole army: The forces, enliſted in the Weſt Indies, were the moſt profligate of mankind: Pen and Venables were of incompatible tempers: The troops were not furniſhed with arms fit for ſuch an expedition: Their proviſions were defective both in quantity and quality: All hopes of pillage, the beſt incentive to valour among ſuch men, were refuſed the ſoldiers and ſeamen: No directions or intelligence were given to conduct the officers in their enterpriſe: And at the ſame time, they were tied down to follow the advice of commiſſioners, who diſconcerted them in all their projects.

(April 13.) It was agreed by the admiral and general to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of ſtrength in the iſland of Hiſpaniola. On the approach of the Engliſh, the Spaniards in a fright deſerted their houſes, and fled into the woods. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the ſoldiers were diſembarked without guides ten leagues diſtant from the town. They wandered four days through the woods without proviſions, and what was ſtill more intolerable in that ſultry climate, without water. The Spaniards recovered ſpirit, and, attacked them. The Engliſh, diſcouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, and ſcarcely alive from hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, were unable to reſiſt. An inconſiderable number of the enemy put the whole army to rout, killed 600 of them, and chaſed the reſt on board their veſſels.

The

The Engliſh commanders, in order to atone as much as poſſible for this unproſperous attempt, bent their courſe to Jamaica, which was ſurrendered to them without a blow. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them ſent to the Tower, by the protector, who, though commonly maſter of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent paſſion at this diſappointment. He had made a conqueſt of greater importance than he was himſelf at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vaſt projects which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to ſupport it by men and money; and that iſland has ever ſince remained in the hands of the Engliſh; the chief acquiſition which they owe to the enterpriſing ſpirit of Cromwel.

(1656.) As ſoon as the news of this expedition, which was an unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war againſt England, and ſeized all the ſhips and goods of Engliſh merchants, of which they could make themſelves maſters. The commerce with Spain, ſo profitable to the Engliſh, was cut off; and near 1500 veſſels, it is computed, fell in a few years into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himſelf for hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards.

Several ſea officers, having entertained ſcruples of conſcience with regard to the juſtice of the Spaniſh war, threw up their commiſſions, and retired. No commands, they thought, of their ſuperiors could juſtify a war, which was contrary to the principles of natural equity, and which the civil magiſtrate had no right to order. Individuals, they maintained, in reſigning to the public their natural liberty, could beſtow on it only what they themſelves were poſſeſſed of, a right of performing lawful actions, and could inveſt it with no authority of commanding what is contrary to the decrees of heaven. Such maxims, though they ſeem reaſonable, are perhaps too perfect for human nature; and muſt be regarded as one effect, though of the moſt innocent and even honour-

able

able kind, of that ſpirit, partly fanatical, partly republican, which predominated in England.

Blake lay ſome time off Cadiz, in expectation of intercepting the plate fleet, but was at laſt obliged, for want of water, to make ſail towards Portugal. Captain Stayner, whom he had left on the coaſt with a ſquadron of ſeven veſſels, came in ſight of the galleons, and immediately ſet ſail to purſue them. (September.) The Spaniſh admiral ran his ſhip aſhore: Two others followed his example: The Engliſh took two ſhips valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. Two galleons were ſet on fire; and the marquis of Badajox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and his daughter, betrothed to the young duke of Medina Celi, were deſtroyed in them. The marquis himſelf might have eſcaped; but ſeeing theſe unfortunate women, aſtoniſhed with the danger, fall in a ſwoon, and periſh in the flames, he rather choſe to die with them, than drag out a life embittered with the remembrance of ſuch diſmal ſcenes. When the treaſures gained by this enterpriſe arrived at Portſmouth, the protector, from a ſpirit of oſtentation, ordered them to be tranſported by land to London.

The next action againſt the Spaniards was more honourable, though leſs profitable to the nation. Blake having heard that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips, much richer than the former, had taken ſhelter in the Canaries, immediately made ſail towards them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, diſpoſed in a formidable poſture. The bay was ſecured with a ſtrong caſtle, well provided with cannon, beſides ſeven forts in ſeveral parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diaques, the Spaniſh admiral, ordered all his ſmaller veſſels to moor cloſe to the ſhore, and poſted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadſides to the ſea.

Blake was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind ſeconded his courage, and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickeſt of his enemies. After a reſiſtance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to Engliſh valour, and abandoned

abandoned their ſhips, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſure. The greateſt danger ſtill remained to the Engliſh. They lay under the fire of the caſtles and all the forts, which muſt in a little time have torn them in pieces. But the wind ſuddenly ſhifting carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in aſtoniſhment at the happy temerity of their audacious victors.

This was the laſt and greateſt action of the gallant Blake. He was conſumed with a dropſy and ſcurvy; and haſtened home, that he might yield up his breath in his native country, which he had ſo much adorned by his valour. As he came within ſight of land he expired*. Never man ſo zealous for a faction was ſo much reſpected and eſteemed even by the oppoſite factions. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late uſurpations, amidſt all the truſt and careſſes which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. *It is ſtill our duty*, he ſaid to the ſeamen, *to fight for our country, into what hands ſoever the government may fall.* Diſintereſted, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies; he forms one of the moſt perfect characters of the age, and the leaſt ſtained with thoſe errors and violences which were then ſo predominant. The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: But the tears of his countrymen were the moſt honourable panegyric on his memory.

The conduct of the protector in foreign affairs, though imprudent and impolitic, was full of vigour and enterpriſe, and drew a conſideration to his country, which, ſince the reign of Elizabeth, it ſeemed to have totally loſt. The great mind of this ſucceſsful uſurper was intent on ſpreading the renown of the Engliſh nation; and while he ſtruck mankind with aſtoniſhment at his extraordinary fortune, he ſeemed to ennoble, inſtead of debaſing, that people whom he had reduced to ſubjection. It was his boaſt, that he would render the

* 20th April 1657.

name

name of an Engliſhman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found ſome reality in theſe pretenſions, their national vanity being gratified, made them bear with more patience all the indignities and calamities under which they laboured.

It muſt alſo be acknowledged, that the protector, in his civil and domeſtic adminiſtration, diſplayed as great regard both to juſtice and clemency, as his uſurped authority, derived from no law, and founded only on the ſword, could poſſibly permit. All the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled with men of integrity: Amidſt the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial: And to every man but himſelf, and to himſelf, except where neceſſity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of conduct and behaviour. Vane and Lilburn, whoſe credit with the republicans and levellers he dreaded, were indeed for ſome time confined to priſon: Cony, who refuſed to pay illegal taxes, was obliged by menaces to depart from his obſtinacy: High courts of juſtice were erected to try thoſe who had engaged in conſpiracies and inſurrections againſt the protector's authority, and whom he could not ſafely commit to the verdict of juries.

But theſe irregularities were deemed inevitable conſequences of his illegal authority. And though often urged by his officers, as is pretended, to attempt a general maſſacre of the royaliſts, he always with horror rejected ſuch ſanguinary counſels.

In the army was laid the ſole baſis of the protector's power; and in managing it conſiſted the chief art and delicacy of his government. The ſoldiers were held in exact diſcipline; a policy which both accuſtomed them to obedience, and made them leſs hateful and burdenſome to the people. He augmented their pay; though the public neceſſities ſometimes obliged him to run in arrears to them. Their intereſts, they were ſenſible, were cloſely connected with thoſe of their general and protector. And he entirely commanded their

affectionate regard, by his abilities and ſucceſs in almoſt every enterpriſe which he had hitherto undertaken. But all military government is precarious; much more where it ſtands in oppoſition to civil eſtabliſhments; and ſtill more where it encounters religious prejudices. By the wild fanaticiſm which he had nouriſhed in the ſoldiers, he had ſeduced them into meaſures, for which, if openly propoſed to them, they would have entertained the utmoſt averſion. But this ſame ſpirit rendered them more difficult to be governed, and made their caprices terrible even to that hand which directed their movements. So often taught, that the office of king was an uſurpation upon Chriſt, they were apt to ſuſpect a protector not to be altogether compatible with that divine authority. Harriſon, though raiſed to the higheſt dignity, and poſſeſſed of Cromwel's confidence, became his moſt inveterate enemy as ſoon as the authority of a ſingle perſon was eſtabliſhed, againſt which that uſurper had always made ſuch violent proteſtations. Overton, Lich, Okey, officers of rank in the army, were actuated with like principles, and Cromwel was obliged to deprive them of their commiſſions. Their influence, which was before thought unbounded among the troops, ſeemed from that moment to be totally annihilated.

The more effectually to curb the enthuſiaſtic and ſeditious ſpirit of the troops, Cromwel eſtabliſhed a kind of militia in the ſeveral counties. Companies of infantry and cavalry were enliſted under proper officers, regular pay diſtributed among them, and a reſource by that means provided both againſt the inſurrections of the royaliſts, and mutiny of the army.

Religion can never be deemed a point of ſmall conſequence in civil government: But during this period, it may be regarded as the great ſpring of men's actions and determinations. Though tranſported, himſelf, with the moſt frantic whimſies, Cromwel had adopted a ſcheme for regulating this principle in others, which was ſagacious and political. Being reſolved to maintain a national church, yet determined neither to admit epiſcopacy nor preſbytery, he eſtabliſhed a number of commiſſioners, under

under the name of *tryers*, partly laymen, partly eccleſiaſtics, ſome preſbyterians, ſome independents. Theſe preſented to all livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown; they examined and admitted ſuch perſons as received holy orders; and they inſpected the lives, doctrine, and behaviour of the clergy. Inſtead of ſupporting that union between learning and theology, which has ſo long been attempted in Europe, theſe tryers embraced the latter principle in its full purity, and made it the ſole object of their examination. The candidates were no more perplexed with queſtions concerning their progreſs in Greek and Roman erudition; concerning their talent for profane arts and ſciences: The chief object of ſcrutiny regarded their advances in grace, and fixing the critical moment of their converſion.

With the pretended ſaints of all denominations Cromwel was familiar and eaſy. Laying aſide the ſtate of protector, which, on other occaſions, he well knew how to maintain, he inſinuated to them, that nothing but neceſſity could ever oblige him to inveſt himſelf with it. He talked ſpiritually to them; he ſighed, he weeped, he canted, he prayed. He even entered with them into an emulation of ghoſtly gifts; and theſe men, inſtead of grieving to be outdone in their own way, were proud that his highneſs, by his princely example, had dignified thoſe practices in which they themſelves were daily occupied *.

* Cromwel followed, though but in part, the advice which he received from general Harriſon, at the time when the intimacy and endearment moſt ſtrongly ſubſiſted betwixt them. "Let the waiting upon Jehovah," ſaid that military ſaint, "be the greateſt and moſt conſiderable buſineſs "you have every day: Reckon it ſo, more than to eat, "ſleep, and council together. Run aſide ſometimes from "your company, and get a word with the Lord. Why "ſhould not you have three or four precious ſouls always "ſtanding at your elbow, with whom you might now and "then turn into a corner? I have found refreſhment and "mercy in ſuch a way."

If Cromwel might be ſaid to adhere to any particular form of religion, they were the independents who could chiefly boaſt of his favour; and it may be affirmed, that ſuch paſtors of that ſect, as were not paſſionately addicted to civil liberty, were all of them devoted to him.

The preſbyterian clergy alſo, ſaved from the ravages of the anabaptiſts and millenarians, and enjoying their eſtabliſhments and tithes, were not averſe to his government; though he ſtill entertained a great jealouſy of that ambitious and reſtleſs ſpirit by which they were actuated. He granted an unbounded liberty of conſcience to all but catholics and prelatiſts; and by that means he both attached the wild ſectaries to his perſon, and employed them in curbing the domineering ſpirit of the preſbyterians. "I am the only man," he was often heard to ſay, "who has known how to ſubdue that "inſolent ſect, which can ſuffer none but itſelf."

The proteſtant zeal which poſſeſſed the preſbyterians and independents, was highly gratified by the haughty manner in which the protector ſo ſucceſsfully ſupported the perſecuted proteſtants throughout all Europe. Even the duke of Savoy, ſo remote a power, and ſo little expoſed to the naval force of England, was obliged, by the authority of France, to comply with his mediation, and to tolerate the proteſtants of the vallies, againſt whom that prince had commenced a furious perſecution. France itſelf was conſtrained to bear not only with the religion, but even, in ſome inſtances, with the ſeditious inſolence of the hugonots; and when the French court applied for a reciprocal toleration of the catholic religion in England, the protector, who arrogated in every thing the ſuperiority, would hearken to no ſuch propoſal. He had entertained a project of inſtituting a college in imitation of that at Rome, for the propagation of the faith; and his apoſtles, in zeal, though not in unanimity, had certainly been a full match for the catholics.

Cromwel retained the church of England in conſtraint; though he permitted its clergy a little more liberty than the

the republican parliament had formerly allowed. He was pleaſed that the ſuperior lenity of his adminiſtration ſhould in every thing be remarked. He bridled the royaliſts, both by the army which he retained, and by thoſe ſecret ſpies which he found means to intermix in all their councils. Manning being detected and puniſhed with death, he corrupted ſir Richard Willis, who was much truſted by chancellor Hyde and all the royaliſts; and by means of this man he was let into every deſign and conſpiracy of the party. He could diſconcert any project, by confining the perſons who were to be the actors in it; and as he reſtored them afterwards to liberty, his ſeverity paſſed only for the reſult of general jealouſy and ſuſpicion. The ſecret ſource of his intelligence remained ſtill unknown and unſuſpected.

Conſpiracies for an aſſaſſination he was chiefly afraid of; theſe being deſigns which no prudence or vigilance could evade. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had written a ſpirited diſcourſe, exhorting every one to embrace this method of vengeance; and Cromwel knew that the inflamed minds of the royal party were ſufficiently diſpoſed to put the doctrine in practice againſt him. He openly told them, that aſſaſſinations were baſe and odious, and he never would commence hoſtilities by ſo ſhameful an expedient; but if the firſt attempt or provocation came from them, he would retaliate to the uttermoſt. He had inſtruments, he ſaid, whom he could employ; and he never would deſiſt till he had totally exterminated the royal family. This menace, more than all his guards, contributed to the ſecurity of his perſon *.

There was no point about which the protector was more ſolicitous than to procure intelligence. This article alone, it is ſaid, coſt him ſixty thouſand pounds a-year. Poſtmaſters, both at home and abroad, were in his pay: Carriers were ſearched or bribed: Secretaries and clerks were corrupted: The greateſt zealots in all parties were often thoſe who conveyed private informa-

* See note [D] at the end of the volume.

tion to him: And nothing could escape his vigilant inquiry. Such at least is the representation made by historians of Cromwel's administration; but it must be confessed that, if we may judge of those volumes of Thurloe's papers, which have been lately published, this affair, like many others, has been greatly magnified. We scarcely find by that collection, that any secret counsels of foreign states, except those of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed, were known to the protector.

The general behaviour and deportment of this man, who had been raised from a very private station, who had passed most of his youth in the country, and who was still constrained so much to frequent bad company, was such as might befit the greatest monarch. He maintained a dignity without either affectation or ostentation; and supported with all strangers that high idea with which his great exploits and prodigious fortune had impressed them. Among his ancient friends he could relax himself; and by trifling and amusement, jesting and making verses, he feared not exposing himself to their most familiar approaches. With others, he sometimes pushed matters to the length of rustic buffoonery; and he would amuse himself by putting burning coals into the boots and hose of the officers who attended him. Before the king's trial, a meeting was agreed on between the chiefs of the republican party and the general officers, in order to concert the model of that free government which they were to substitute in the room of the monarchical constitution, now totally subverted. After debates on this subject, the most important that could fall under the discussion of human creatures, Ludlow tells us, that Cromwel, by way of frolic, threw a cushion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cushion, in order to return the compliment, the general ran down stairs, and had almost fallen in the hurry. When the high court of justice was signing the warrant for the execution of the king, a matter, if possible, still more serious, Cromwel, taking the pen in his hand, before he subscribed his name, bedaubed with ink the face

face of Martin, who ſat next him. And the pen being delivered to Martin, he practiſed the ſame frolic upon Cromwel. He frequently gave feaſts to his inferior officers; and when the meat was ſet upon the table, a ſignal was given, the ſoldiers ruſhed in upon them, and with much noiſe, tumult, and confuſion, ran away with all the diſhes, and diſappointed the gueſts of their expected meal.

That vein of frolic and pleaſantry, which made a part, however inconſiſtent, of Cromwel's character, was apt ſometimes to betray him into other inconſiſtencies, and to diſcover itſelf even where religion might ſeem to be a little concerned. It is a tradition, that, one day, ſitting at table, the protector had a bottle of wine brought him, of a kind which he valued ſo highly, that he muſt needs open the bottle himſelf. But in attempting it, the corkſcrew dropt from his hand. Immediately his courtiers and generals flung themſelves on the floor to recover it. Cromwel burſt out a-laughing. *Should any fool*, ſaid he, *put in his head at the door, he would fancy, from your poſture, that you were ſeeking the Lord; and you are only ſeeking a corkſcrew.*

Amidſt all the unguarded play and buffoonery of this ſingular perſonage, he took the opportunity of remarking the characters, deſigns, and weakneſſes of men; and he would ſometimes puſh them, by an indulgence in wine, to open to him the moſt ſecret receſſes of their boſom. Great regularity, however, and even auſterity of manners, were always maintained in his court; and he was careful never by any liberties to give offence to the moſt rigid of the godly. Some ſtate was upheld, but with little expenſe, and without any ſplendour. The nobility, though courted by him, kept at a diſtance, and diſdained to intermix with thoſe mean perſons who were the inſtruments of his government. Without departing from economy, he was generous to thoſe who ſerved him; and he knew how to find out and engage in his intereſts every man poſſeſſed of thoſe talents which any particular employment demanded. His generals, his admirals, his judges, his ambaſſadors, were perſons

who contributed, all of them, in their ſeveral ſpheres, to the ſecurity of the protector, and to the honour and intereſt of the nation.

Under pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one commonwealth with England, Cromwel had reduced thoſe kingdoms to a total ſubjection; and he treated them entirely as conquered provinces. The civil adminiſtration of Scotland was placed in a council, conſiſting moſtly of Engliſh, of which Lord Broghil was preſident. Juſtice was adminiſtered by ſeven judges, four of whom were Engliſh. In order to curb the tyrannical nobility, he both aboliſhed all vaſſalage, and revived the office of juſtice of peace, which king James had introduced, but was not able to ſupport. A long line of forts and garriſons was maintained throughout the kingdom. An army of 10,000 men kept every thing in peace and obedience; and neither the banditti of the mountains, nor the bigots of the low countries, could indulge their inclination to turbulence and diſorder. He courted the preſbyterian clergy; though he nouriſhed that inteſtine enmity which prevailed between the reſolutioners and proteſters; and he found that very little policy was requiſite to foment quarrels among theologians. He permitted no church aſſemblies; being ſenſible that from thence had proceeded many of the paſt diſorders. And, in the main, the Scots were obliged to acknowledge, that never before, while they enjoyed their irregular, factious liberty, had they attained ſo much happineſs as at preſent, when reduced to ſubjection under a foreign nation.

The protector's adminiſtration of Ireland was more ſevere and violent. The government of that iſland was firſt entruſted to Fleetwood, a notorious fanatic, who had married Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwel, ſecond ſon of the protector, a young man of an amiable, mild diſpoſition, and not deſtitute of vigour and capacity. About five millions of acres, forfeited either by the popiſh rebels or by the adherents of the king, were divided, partly among the adventurers, who had advanced money to the parliament, partly among the Engliſh

liſh ſoldiers, who had arrears due to them. Examples of a more ſudden and violent change of property are ſcarcely to be found in any hiſtory. An order was even iſſued to confine all the native Iriſh to the province of Connaught, where they would be ſhut up by rivers, lakes, and mountains; and could not, it was hoped, be any longer dangerous to the Engliſh government. But this barbarous and abſurd policy, which, from an impatience of attaining immediate ſecurity, muſt have depopulated all the other provinces, and rendered the Engliſh eſtates of no value, was ſoon abandoned as impracticable.

Cromwel began to hope, that by his adminiſtration, attended with ſo much luſtre and ſucceſs abroad, ſo much order and tranquillity at home, he had now acquired ſuch authority as would enable him to meet the repreſentatives of the nation, and would aſſure him of their dutiful compliance with his government. He ſummoned a parliament; but not truſting altogether to the goodwill of the people, he uſed every art which his new model of repreſentation allowed him to employ, in order to influence the elections, and fill the houſe with his own creatures. Ireland, being entirely in the hands of the army, choſe few but ſuch officers as were moſt acceptable to him. Scotland ſhowed a like compliance; and as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom regarded their attendance on Engliſh parliaments as an ignominious badge of ſlavery, it was, on that account, more eaſy for the officers to prevail in the elections. Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the protector ſtill found that the majority would not be favourable to him. (17th Sept.) He ſet guards, therefore, on the door, who permitted none to enter but ſuch as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about a hundred, who either refuſed a recognition of the protector's government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. Theſe proteſted againſt ſo egregious a violence, ſubverſive of all liberty; but every application for redreſs was neglected both by the council and the parliament.

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The majority of the parliament, by means of these arts and violences, was now at last either friendly to the protector, or resolved, by their compliance, to adjust, if possible, this military government to their laws and liberties. They voted a renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart, or any of his family; and this was the first act, dignified with the appearance of national consent, which had ever had that tendency. Colonel Jephson, in order to sound the inclinations of the house, ventured to move that the parliament should bestow the crown on Cromwel; and no surprise or reluctance was discovered on the occasion. When Cromwel afterwards asked Jephson what induced him to make such a motion, "As long," said Jephson, "as I have the honour to "sit in parliament, I must follow the dictates of my "own conscience, whatever offence I may be so unfor-"tunate as to give you."—"Get thee gone," said Cromwel, giving him a gentle blow on the shoulder, "get thee gone, for a mad fellow, as thou art."

In order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he so ardently longed, Cromwel resolved to sacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. That measure was also become necessary for his own security. All government, purely military, fluctuates perpetually between a despotic monarchy and a despotic aristocracy, according as the authority of the chief commander prevails, or that of the officers next him in rank and dignity. The major-generals, being possessed of so much distinct jurisdiction, began to establish a separate title to power, and had rendered themselves formidable to the protector himself; and for this inconvenience, though he had not foreseen it, he well knew, before it was too late, to provide a proper remedy. Claypole, his son-in-law, who possessed his confidence, abandoned them to the pleasure of the house; and though the name was still retained, it was agreed to abridge, or rather entirely annihilate, the power of the major-generals.

At length, a motion in form was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the protector

tector with the dignity of King. This motion, at firſt, excited great diſorder, and divided the whole houſe into parties. The chief oppoſition came from the uſual adherents of the protector, the major-generals, and ſuch officers as depended on them. Lambert, a man of deep intrigue, and of great intereſt in the army, had long entertained the ambition of ſucceeding Cromwel in the protectorſhip; and he foreſaw, that, if the monarchy were reſtored, hereditary right would alſo be eſtabliſhed, and the crown be tranſmitted to the poſterity of the prince firſt elected. He pleaded, therefore, conſcience; and rouſing all thoſe civil and religious jealouſies againſt kingly government, which had been ſo induſtriouſly encouraged among the ſoldiers, and which ſerved them as a pretence for ſo many violences, he raiſed a numerous, and ſtill more formidable, party againſt the motion.

On the other hand, the motion was ſupported by every one who was more particularly devoted to the protector, and who hoped, by ſo acceptable a meaſure, to pay court to the prevailing authority. Many perſons alſo, attached to their country, deſpaired of ever being able to ſubvert the preſent illegal eſtabliſhment; and were deſirous, by fixing it on ancient foundations, to induce the protector, from views of his own ſafety, to pay a regard to the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. Even the royaliſts imprudently joined in the meaſure; and hoped that, when the queſtion regarded only perſons, not forms of government, no one would any longer balance between the ancient royal family and an ignoble uſurper, who, by blood, treaſon, and perfidy, had made his way to the throne. (1657.) The bill was voted by a conſiderable majority; and a committee was appointed to reaſon with the protector, and to overcome thoſe ſcruples which he pretended againſt accepting ſo liberal an offer.

(9th April.) The conference laſted for ſeveral days. The committee urged, that all the ſtatutes and cuſtoms of England were founded on the ſuppoſition of regal authority, and could not, without extreme violence, be adjuſted to any other form of government: That a protector,

tector, except during the minority of a king, was a name utterly unknown to the laws; and no man was acquainted with the extent or limits of his authority: That if it were attempted to define every part of his jurisdiction, many years, if not ages, would be required for the execution of so complicated a work; if the whole power of the king were at once transferred to him, the question was plainly about a name, and the preference was indisputably due to the ancient title: That the English constitution was more anxious concerning the form of government than concerning the birthright of the first magistrate, and had provided, by an express law of Henry VII. for the security of those who act in defence of the king in being, by whatever means he might have acquired possession: That it was extremely the interest of all his highness's friends to seek the shelter of this statute; and even the people in general were desirous of such a settlement, and in all juries were with great difficulty induced to give their verdict in favour of a protector: That the great source of all the late commotions had been the jealousy of liberty; and that a republic, together with a protector, had been established, in order to provide farther securities for the freedom of the constitution; but that by experience the remedy had been found insufficient, even dangerous and pernicious; since every undeterminate power, such as that of a protector, must be arbitrary; and the more arbitrary, as it was contrary to the genius and inclination of the people.

The difficulty consisted not in persuading Cromwel. He was sufficiently convinced of the solidity of these reasons; and his inclination, as well as judgment, was entirely on the side of the committee. But how to bring over the soldiers to the same way of thinking, was the question. The office of king had been painted to them in such horrible colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling them suddenly to it, even though bestowed upon their general, to whom they were so much devoted. A contradiction, open and direct, to all past professions, would make them pass, in the eyes of the whole nation, for the most shameless hypocrites, enlisted, by no other than

than mercenary motives, in the cauſe of the moſt perfidious traitor. Principles, ſuch as they were, had been encouraged in them by every conſideration, human and divine; and though it was eaſy, where intereſt concurred, to deceive them by the thinneſt diſguiſes, it might be found dangerous at once to pull off the maſque, and to ſhow them in a full light the whole crime and deformity of their conduct. Suſpended between theſe fears and his own moſt ardent deſires, Cromwel protracted the time, and ſeemed ſtill to oppoſe the reaſonings of the committee; in hopes that by artifice he might be able to reconcile the refractory minds of the ſoldiers to his new dignity.

While the protector argued ſo much in contradiction both to his judgment and inclination, it is no wonder that his elocution, always confuſed, embarraſſed, and unintelligible, ſhould be involved in tenfold darkneſs, and diſcover no glimmering of common ſenſe or reaſon. An exact account of this conference remains, and may be regarded as a great curioſity. The members of the committee, in their reaſonings, diſcovered judgment, knowledge, elocution: Lord Broghil, in particular, exerts himſelf on this memorable occaſion. But what a contraſt, when we paſs to the protector's replies! After ſo ſingular a manner does Nature diſtribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with ſenſe and learning, a man who, by ſuperior perſonal merit alone, had made his way to ſupreme dignity, and had even obliged the parliament to make him a tender of the crown, was yet incapable of expreſſing himſelf on this occaſion, but in a manner which a peaſant of the moſt ordinary capacity would juſtly be aſhamed of *.

The oppoſition which Cromwel dreaded, was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as capital enemies, and whom he was reſolved, on the firſt occaſion, to deprive of all power and authority: It was that which he met with in his own family, and from men, who, by intereſt as well as incli-

* See note [E] at the end of the volume.

nation,

nation, were the moſt devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter: Diſborow his ſiſter: Yet theſe men, actuated by principle alone, could by no perſuaſion, artifice, or entreaty, be induced to conſent that their friend and patron ſhould be inveſted with regal dignity. They told him, that, if he accepted of the crown, they would inſtantly throw up their commiſſions, and never afterwards ſhould have it in their power to ſerve him. Colonel Pride procured a petition againſt the office of king, ſigned by a majority of the officers, who were in London and the neighbourhood. Several perſons, it is ſaid, had entered into an engagement to murder the protector within a few hours after he ſhould have accepted the offer of the parliament. Some ſudden mutiny in the army was juſtly dreaded. And upon the whole, Cromwel, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at laſt obliged to refuſe that crown, which the repreſentatives of the nation, in the moſt ſolemn manner, had tendered to him. Moſt hiſtorians are inclined to blame his choice; but he muſt be allowed the beſt judge of his own ſituation. And in ſuch complicated ſubjects, the alteration of a very minute circumſtance, unknown to the ſpectator, will often be ſufficient to caſt the balance, and render a determination, which, in itſelf, may be uneligible, very prudent, or even abſolutely neceſſary to the actor.

A dream or prophecy lord Clarendon mentions, which he affirms (and he muſt have known the truth) was univerſally talked of almoſt from the beginning of the civil wars, and long before Cromwel was ſo conſiderable a perſon as to beſtow upon it any degree of probability. In this prophecy it was foretold, that Cromwel ſhould be the greateſt man in England, and would nearly, but never would fully, mount the throne. Such a preposſeſſion probably aroſe from the heated imagination either of himſelf or of his followers; and as it might be one cauſe of the great progreſs which he had already made, it is not an unlikely reaſon which may be aſſigned for his refuſing at this time any farther elevation.

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The parliament, when the regal dignity was rejected by Cromwel, found themſelves obliged to retain the name of a commonwealth and protector; and as the government was hitherto a manifeſt uſurpation, it was thought proper to ſanctify it by a ſeeming choice of the people and their repreſentatives. Inſtead of the *inſtrument of government*, which was the work of the general officers alone, *humble petition and advice* was framed, and offered to the protector by the parliament. This was repreſented as the great baſis of the republican eſtabliſhment, regulating and limiting the powers of each member of the conſtitution, and ſecuring the liberty of the people to the moſt remote poſterity. By this deed the authority of protector was in ſome particulars enlarged: In others, it was conſiderably diminiſhed. He had the power of nominating his ſucceſſor; he had a perpetual revenue aſſigned him, a million a year for the pay of the fleet and army, three hundred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of civil government; and he had authority to name another houſe, who ſhould enjoy their ſeats during life, and exerciſe ſome functions of the former houſe of peers. But he abandoned the power aſſumed in the intervals of parliament, of framing laws with the conſent of his council; and he agreed, that no members of either houſe ſhould be excluded but by the conſent of that houſe of which they were members. The other articles were in the main the ſame as in the inſtrument of government. The inſtrument of government Cromwel had formerly extolled as the moſt perfect work of human invention: He now repreſented it as a rotten plank, upon which no man could truſt himſelf without ſinking. Even the humble petition and advice, which he extolled in its turn, appeared ſo lame and imperfect, that it was found requiſite, this very ſeſſion, to mend it by a ſupplement; and after all, it may be regarded as a crude and undigeſted model of government. It was, however, accepted for the voluntary deed of the whole people in the three united nations; and Cromwel, as if his power had juſt commenced from this popular conſent, was anew inaugurated

in Weſtminſter Hall, after the moſt ſolemn and moſt pompous manner.

(June 26.) The parliament having adjourned itſelf, the protector deprived Lambert of all his commiſſions; but ſtill allowed him a conſiderable penſion of 2000 pounds a year, as a bribe for his future peaceable deportment. Lambert's authority in the army, to the ſurpriſe of every body, was found immediately to expire with the loſs of his commiſſion. Packer and ſome other officers, whom Cromwel ſuſpected, were alſo diſplaced.

Richard, eldeſt ſon of the protector, was brought to court, introduced into public buſineſs, and thenceforth regarded by many as his heir in the protectorſhip; though Cromwel ſometimes employed the groſs artifice of flattering others with hopes of the ſucceſſion. Richard was a perſon poſſeſſed of the moſt peaceable, inoffenſive, unambitious character; and had hitherto lived contentedly in the country on a ſmall eſtate which his wife had brought him. All the activity which he diſcovered, and which never was great, was however exerted to beneficent purpoſes: At the time of the king's trial, he had fallen on his knees before his father, and had conjured him, by every tie of duty and humanity, to ſpare the life of that monarch. Cromwel had two daughters unmarried: One of them he now gave in marriage to the grandſon and heir of his great friend, the earl of Warwic, with whom he had, in every fortune, preſerved an uninterrupted intimacy and good correſpondence. The other he married to the viſcount Fauconberg, of a family formerly devoted to the royal party. He was ambitious of forming connexions with the nobility; and it was one chief motive for his deſiring the title of king, that he might replace every thing in its natural order, and reſtore to the ancient families, the truſt and honour of which he now found himſelf obliged, for his own ſafety, to deprive them.

(1658, 20th Jan.) The parliament was again aſſembled; conſiſting, as in the times of monarchy, of two houſes,

houſes, the commons and the other houſe. Cromwel, during the interval, had ſent writs to his houſe of peers, which conſiſted of ſixty members. They were compoſed of five or ſix ancient peers, of ſeveral gentlemen of fortune and diſtinction, and of ſome officers who had riſen from the meaneſt ſtations. None of the ancient peers, however, though ſummoned by writ, would deign to accept of a ſeat, which they muſt ſhare with ſuch companions as were aſſigned them. The protector endeavoured at firſt to maintain the appearance of a legal magiſtrate. He placed no guard at the door of either houſe: But ſoon found how incompatible liberty is with military uſurpations. By bringing ſo great a number of his friends and adherents into the other houſe, he had loſt the majority among the national repreſentatives. In conſequence of a clauſe in the humble petition and advice, the commons aſſumed a power of re-admitting thoſe members whom the council had formerly excluded. Sir Arthur Hazelrig and ſome others, whom Cromwel had created lords, rather choſe to take their ſeat with the commons. An inconteſtable majority now declared themſelves againſt the protector; and they refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of that other houſe which he had eſtabliſhed. Even the validity of the humble petition and advice was queſtioned; as being voted by a parliament which lay under force, and which was deprived, by military violence, of a conſiderable number of its members. The protector, dreading combinations between the parliament and the malcontents in the army, reſolved to allow no leiſure for forming any conſpiracy againſt him; and, with expreſſions of great diſpleaſure, he diſſolved the parliament (4th Feb.). When urged by Fleetwood and others of his friends, not to precipitate himſelf into this raſh meaſure, he ſwore, by the living God, that they ſhould not ſit a moment longer.

Theſe diſtractions at home were not able to take off the protector's attention from foreign affairs; and in all his meaſures he proceeded with the ſame vigour and enterpriſe, as if ſecure of the duty and attachment of the

three kingdoms. His alliance with Sweden he ſtill ſupported; and he endeavoured to aſſiſt that crown in its ſucceſsful enterpriſes, for reducing all its neighbours to ſubjection, and rendering itſelf abſolute maſter of the Baltic. As ſoon as Spain declared war againſt him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himſelf in all his counſels with that potent and ambitious kingdom. Spain, having long courted in vain the friendſhip of the ſucceſsful uſurper, was reduced at laſt to apply to the unfortunate prince. Charles formed a league with Philip, removed his ſmall court to Bruges in the Low Countries, and raiſed four regiments of his own ſubjects, whom he employed in the Spaniſh ſervice. The duke of York, who had, with applauſe, ſerved ſome campaigns in the French army, and who had merited the particular eſteem of marſhal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to ſeek military experience under don John of Auſtria, and the prince of Condé.

The ſcheme of foreign politics, adopted by the protector, was highly imprudent, but was ſuitable to that magnanimity and enterpriſe, with which he was ſo ſignally endowed. He was particularly deſirous of conqueſt and dominion on the continent *; and he ſent over into Flanders ſix thouſand men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign, Mardyke was taken, and put into the hands of the Engliſh. Early this campaign, ſiege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spaniſh army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated †. The valour of the Engliſh was much remarked

* He aſpired to get poſſeſſion of Elſinore and the paſſage of the Sound. He alſo endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of Bremen.

† It was remarked by the ſaints of that time, that the battle was fought on a day which was held for a faſt in London, ſo that, as Fleetwood ſaid, while we were praying, they

marked on this occaſion. Dunkirk, being ſoon after ſurrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwel. He committed the government of that important place to Lockhart, a Scotchman of abilities, who had married his niece, and was his ambaſſador at the court of France.

This acquiſition was regarded by the protector as the means only of obtaining farther advantages. He was reſolved to concert meaſures with the French court for the final conqueſt and partition of the Low Countries. Had he lived much longer, and maintained his authority in England, ſo chimerical, or rather ſo dangerous, a project would certainly have been carried into execution. And this firſt and principal ſtep towards more extenſive conqueſt, which France, during a whole century, has never yet been able, by an infinite expenſe of blood and treaſure, fully to attain, had at once been accompliſhed by the enterpriſing, though unſkilful, politics of Cromwel.

During theſe tranſactions, great demonſtrations of mutual friendſhip and regard paſſed between the French king and the protector. Lord Fauconberg, Cromwel's

hey were fighting, and the Lord hath given a ſignal anſwer. The Lord has not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in a way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all ſtreights and difficulties. Cromwel's letter to Blake and Montague, his brave admirals, is remarkable for the ſame ſpirit. You have, ſays he, as I verily believe and am perſuaded, a plentiful ſtock of prayers going for you daily, ſent up by the ſobereſt and moſt approved miniſters and Chriſtians in this nation, and, notwithſtanding ſome diſcouragements, very much wreſtling of faith for you, which are to us, and I truſt will be to you, matter of great encouragement But notwithſtanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourſelves and all our affairs to the diſpoſition of our all-wiſe Father, who not only out of prerogative, but becauſe of his goodneſs, wiſdom, and truth, ought to be reſigned unto by his creatures, eſpecially thoſe who are children of his begetting through the ſpirit, &c.

ſon-in-law, was deſpatched to Louis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the regard uſually paid to foreign princes by the French court. Mazarine ſent to London his nephew Mancini, along with the duke of Crequi; and expreſſed his regret, that his urgent affairs ſhould deprive him of the honour which he had long wiſhed for, of paying, in perſon, his reſpects to the greateſt man in the world *.

The protector reaped little ſatisfaction from the ſucceſs of his arms abroad: The ſituation in which he ſtood at home, kept him in perpetual uneaſineſs and inquietude. His adminiſtration, ſo expenſive both by military enterpriſes and ſecret intelligence, had exhauſted his revenue, and involved him in a conſiderable debt. The royaliſts, he heard, had renewed their conſpiracies for a general inſurrection; and Ormond was ſecretly come over with a view of concerting meaſures for the execution of this project. Lord Fairfax, ſir William Waller, and many heads of the preſbyterians, had ſecretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the general ſpirit of diſcontent; and ſome ſudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be dreaded from it. No hopes remained, after his violent breach with the laſt parliament, that he ſhould ever be able to eſtabliſh, with general conſent, a legal ſettlement, or temper the military with any mixture of civil authority. All his arts and policy were exhauſted; and having ſo often, by fraud and falſe pretences, deceived every party, and almoſt every individual, he could no longer hope, by repeating the ſame profeſſions, to meet with equal confidence and regard.

However zealous the royaliſts, their conſpiracy took not effect: Willis diſcovered the whole to the protector. Ormond was obliged to fly, and he deemed himſelf fortunate to have eſcaped ſo vigilant an adminiſtration. Great numbers were thrown into priſon. A high court

* In reality the cardinal had not entertained ſo high an idea of Cromwel. He uſed to ſay, that he was a fortunate madman.

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of juſtice was anew erected for the trial of thoſe criminals whoſe guilt was moſt apparent. Notwithſtanding the recognition of his authority by the laſt parliament, the protector could not as yet truſt to an unbiaſſed jury. Sir Henry Slingſby, and Dr. Huet, were condemned and beheaded. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborow, narrowly eſcaped. The numbers for his condemnation and his acquittal were equal; and juſt as the ſentence was pronounced in his favour, colonel Pride, who was reſolved to condemn him, came into court. Aſhton, Storey, and Beſtley, were hanged in different ſtreets of the city.

The conſpiracy of the millenarians in the army ſtruck Cromwel with ſtill greater apprehenſions. Harriſon and the other diſcarded officers of that party could not remain at reſt. Stimulated equally by revenge, by ambition, and by conſcience, they ſtill harboured in their breaſt ſome deſperate project; and there wanted not officers in the army who, from like motives, were diſpoſed to ſecond all their undertakings. The levellers and agitators had been encouraged by Cromwel to interpoſe with their advice in all political deliberations; and he had even pretended to honour many of them with his intimate friendſhip, while he conducted his daring enterpriſes againſt the king and the parliament. It was a uſual practice with him, in order to familiarize himſelf the more with the agitators, who were commonly corporals or ſerjeants, to take them to bed with him, and there, after prayers and exhortations, to diſcuſs together their projects and principles, political as well as religious. Having aſſumed the dignity of protector, he excluded them from all his councils, and had neither leiſure nor inclination to indulge them any farther in their wonted familiarities. Among thoſe who were enraged at this treatment was Sexby; an active agitator, who now employed againſt him all that reſtleſs induſtry which had formerly been exerted in his favour. He even went ſo far as to enter into a correſpondence with Spain; and Cromwel, who knew the diſtempers of the army,

army, was juſtly afraid of ſome mutiny, to which a day, an hour, an inſtant, might provide leaders.

Of aſſaſſinations likewiſe he was apprehenſive, from the zealous ſpirit which actuated the ſoldiers. Sindercome had undertaken to murder him; and, by the moſt unaccountable accidents, had often been prevented from executing his bloody purpoſe. His deſign was diſcovered; but the protector could never find the bottom of the enterpriſe, nor detect any of his accomplices. He was tried by a jury; and notwithſtanding the general odium attending that crime, notwithſtanding the clear and full proof of his guilt, ſo little conviction prevailed of the protector's right to the ſupreme government, it was with the utmoſt difficulty that this conſpirator was condemned. When every thing was prepared for his execution, he was found dead; from poiſon, as is ſuppoſed, which he had voluntarily taken.

The protector might better have ſupported thoſe fears and apprehenſions which the public diſtempers occaſioned, had he enjoyed any domeſtic ſatisfaction, or poſſeſſed any cordial friend of his own family, in whoſe boſom he could ſafely have unloaded his anxious and corroding cares. But Fleetwood, his ſon-in-law, actuated by the wildeſt zeal, began to eſtrange himſelf from him; and was enraged to diſcover, that Cromwel, in all his enterpriſes, had entertained views of promoting his own grandeur, more than of encouraging piety and religion, of which he made ſuch fervent profeſſions. His eldeſt daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles ſo vehement, that ſhe could not with patience behold power lodged in a ſingle perſon, even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were no leſs prejudiced in favour of the royal cauſe, and regretted the violences and iniquities into which, they thought, their family had ſo unhappily been tranſported. Above all, the ſickneſs of Mrs. Claypole, his peculiar favourite, a lady endued with many humane virtues and amiable accompliſhments, depreſſed his anxious mind, and poiſoned all his enjoyments. She had entertained a high re-

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gard for Dr. Huet, lately executed; and being refuſed his pardon, the melancholy of her temper, increaſed by her diſtempered body, had prompted her to lament to her father all his ſanguinary meaſures, and urge him to compunction for thoſe heinous crimes into which his fatal ambition had betrayed him. Her death, which followed ſoon after, gave new edge to every word which ſhe had uttered.

All compoſure of mind was now for ever fled from the protector: He felt that the grandeur which he had attained with ſo much guilt and courage, could not enſure him that tranquillity which it belongs to virtue alone, and moderation, fully to aſcertain. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs, dreading perpetually ſome fatal accident in his diſtempered government, ſeeing nothing around him but treacherous friends or enraged enemies, poſſeſſing the confidence of no party, reſting his title on no principle, civil or religious, he found his power to depend on ſo delicate a poiſe of factions and intereſts, as the ſmalleſt event was able, without any preparation, in a moment to overturn. Death too, which, with ſuch ſignal intrepidity he had braved in the field, being inceſſantly threatened by the poniards of fanatical or intereſted aſſaſſins, was ever preſent to his terrified apprehenſion, and haunted him in every ſcene of buſineſs or repoſe. Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. The aſpect of ſtrangers was uneaſy to him: With a piercing and anxious eye he ſurveyed every face to which he was not daily accuſtomed. He never moved a ſtep without ſtrong guards attending him: He wore armour under his clothes, and farther ſecured himſelf by offenſive weapons, a ſword, falchion, and piſtols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the ſame way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he ſlept above three nights together in the ſame chamber: And he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to chuſe, nor entruſted himſelf

ſelf in any which was not provided with back doors, at which centinels were carefully placed. Society terrified him, while he reflected on his numerous, unknown, and implacable enemies: Solitude aſtoniſhed him, by withdrawing that protection which he found ſo neceſſary for his ſecurity.

His body, alſo, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected; and his health ſeemed ſenſibly to decline. He was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the ſpace of a week, no dangerous ſymptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increaſed, and he himſelf began to entertain ſome thoughts of death, and to caſt his eye towards that future exiſtence, whoſe idea had once been intimately preſent to him; though ſince, in the hurry of affairs, and in the ſhock of wars and factions, it had, no doubt, been conſiderably obliterated. He aſked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the elect could never fall or ſuffer a final reprobation. "Nothing more certain," replied the preacher. "Then am I ſafe," ſaid the protector: "For I am ſure that once I was in a ſtate of grace."

His phyſicians were ſenſible of the perilous condition to which his diſtemper had reduced him: But his chaplains, by their prayers, viſions, and revelations, ſo buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of all danger. A favourable anſwer, it was pretended, had been returned by heaven to the petitions of all the godly; and he relied on their aſſeverations much more than on the opinion of the moſt experienced phyſicians. "I tell you," he cried with confidence to the latter, "I tell you, I ſhall not die of this diſtemper: I "am well aſſured of my recovery. It is promiſed by "the Lord, not only to my ſupplications, but to thoſe "of men who hold a ſtricter commerce and more intimate correſpondence with him. Ye may have ſkill "in your profeſſion; but nature can do more than all "the phyſicians in the world, and God is far above "nature."

"nature." Nay, to such a degree of madness did their enthusiastic assurances mount, that, upon a fast day, which was observed on his account both at Hampton Court and at Whitehall, they did not so much pray for his health, as give thanks for the undoubted pledges which they had received of his recovery. He himself was overheard offering up his addresses to heaven; and so far had the illusions of fanaticism prevailed over the plainest dictates of natural morality, that he assumed more the character of a mediator, in interceding for his people, than that of a criminal, whose atrocious violation of social duty had, from every tribunal, human and divine, merited the severest vengeance.

Meanwhile all the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect; and the physicians were obliged to break silence, and to declare, that the protector could not survive the next fit with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A deputation was sent to know his will with regard to his successor. His senses were gone, and he could not now express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the protectorship. A simple affirmative was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3d of September, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate for him, he expired. A violent tempest, which immediately succeeded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar. His partisans, as well as his enemies, were fond of remarking this event; and each of them endeavoured, by forced inferences, to interpret it as a confirmation of their particular prejudices.

The writers, attached to the memory of this wonderful person, make his character, with regard to abilities, bear the air of the most extravagant panegyric: His enemies form such a representation of his moral qualities as resembles the most virulent invective. Both of them, it must be confessed, are supported by such striking circumstances in his conduct and fortune as bestow on their representation a great air of probability. "What can

"be

" be more extraordinary," it is ſaid *, " than that a " perſon of private birth and education, no fortune, no " eminent qualities of body, which have ſometimes, nor " ſhining talents of mind, which have often, raiſed " men to the higheſt dignities, ſhould have the courage " to attempt, and the abilities to execute, ſo great a " deſign as the ſubverting one of the moſt ancient and " beſt eſtabliſhed monarchies in the world? That he " ſhould have the power and boldneſs to put his prince " and maſter to an open and infamous death? Should " baniſh that numerous and ſtrongly allied family? " Cover all theſe temerities under a ſeeming obedience " to a parliament, in whoſe ſervice he pretended to be " retained? Trample too upon that parliament in their " turn, and ſcornfully expel them as ſoon as they gave " him ground of diſſatisfaction? Erect in their place " the dominion of the ſaints, and give reality to the " moſt viſionary idea, which the heated imagination of " any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppreſs " again that monſter in its infancy, and openly ſet up " himſelf above all things that ever were called ſovereign " in England? Overcome firſt all his enemies by arms, " and all his friends afterwards by artifice? Serve all " parties patiently for a while, and command them " victoriouſly at laſt? Over-run each corner of the three " nations, and ſubdue with equal facility, both the " riches of the ſouth, and the poverty of the north? " Be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and be " adopted a brother to the gods of the earth? Call " together parliaments with a word of his pen, and " ſcatter them again with the breath of his mouth? " Reduce to ſubjection a warlike and diſcontented na- " tion, by means of a mutinous army? Command a " mutinous army by means of ſeditious and factious " officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, that he " would be pleaſed, at the rate of millions a year, to

* Cowley's Diſcourſes: This paſſage is altered in ſome particulars from the original.

" be

" be hired as maſter of thoſe who had hired him before " to be their ſervant? Have the eſtates and lives of " three nations as much at his diſpoſal as was once the " little inheritance of his father, and be as noble and " liberal in the ſpending of them? And laſtly (for " there is no end of enumerating every particular of his " glory), with one word bequeath all this power and " ſplendour to his poſterity? Die poſſeſſed of peace at " home, and triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, " and with more than regal ſolemnity; and leave a " name behind him not to be extinguiſhed but with the " whole world; which as it was too little for his praiſe, " ſo might it have been for his conqueſts, if the ſhort " line of his mortal life could have ſtretched out to the " extent of his immortal deſigns?"

My intention is not to diſfigure this picture, drawn by ſo maſterly a hand: I ſhall only endeavour to remove from it ſomewhat of the marvellous; a circumſtance which, on all occaſions, gives much ground for doubt and ſuſpicion. It ſeems to me, that the circumſtance of Cromwel's life, in which his abilities are principally diſcovered, is his riſing from a private ſtation, in oppoſition to ſo many rivals, ſo much advanced before him, to a high command and authority in the army. His great courage, his ſignal military talents, his eminent dexterity and addreſs, were all requiſite for this important acquiſition. Yet will not this promotion appear the effect of ſupernatural abilities, when we conſider, that Fairfax himſelf, a private gentleman, who had not the advantage of a ſeat in parliament, had, through the ſame ſteps, attained even a ſuperior rank, and, if endued with common capacity and penetration, had been able to retain it. To incite ſuch an army to rebellion againſt the parliament, required no uncommon art or induſtry: To have kept them in obedience had been the more difficult enterpriſe. When the breach was once formed between the military and civil powers, a ſupreme and abſolute authority, from that moment, is devolved on the general; and if he be afterwards pleaſed to employ artifice or policy, it may be regarded, on moſt occaſions, as great

condeſcenſion, if not as ſuperfluous caution. That Cromwel was ever able really to blind or over-reach either the king or the republicans, does not appear: As they poſſeſſed no means of reſiſting the force under his command, they were glad to temporiſe with him, and, by ſeeming to be deceived, wait for opportunities of freeing themſelves from his dominion. If he ſeduced the military fanatics, it is to be conſidered, that their intereſts and his evidently concurred, that their ignorance and low education expoſed them to the groſſeſt impoſition, and that he himſelf was at bottom as frantic an enthuſiaſt as the worſt of them, and, in order to obtain their confidence, needed but to diſplay thoſe vulgar and ridiculous habits, which he had early acquired, and on which he ſet ſo high a value. An army is ſo forcible, and at the ſame time ſo coarſe a weapon, that any hand, which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any aſcendant, in human ſociety.

The domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel, though it diſcovers great abilities, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power: Perhaps, his difficult ſituation admitted of neither. His foreign enterpriſes, though full of intrepidity, were pernicious to national intereſt, and ſeem more the reſult of impetuous fury or narrow prejudices, than of cool foreſight and deliberation. An eminent perſonage, however, he was in many reſpects, and even a ſuperior genius; but unequal and irregular in his operations. And though not defective in any talent, except that of elocution, the abilities, which in him were moſt admirable, and which moſt contributed to his marvellous ſucceſs, were the magnanimous reſolution of his enterpriſes, and his peculiar dexterity in diſcovering the characters, and practiſing on the weakneſſes of mankind.

If we ſurvey the moral character of Cromwel with that indulgence which is due to the blindneſs and infirmities of the human ſpecies, we ſhall not be inclined to load his memory with ſuch violent reproaches as thoſe which his enemies uſually throw upon it. Amidſt the paſſions and prejudices of that period, that he ſhould

prefer the parliamentary to the royal cauſe, will not appear extraordinary; ſince, even at preſent, ſome men of ſenſe and knowledge are diſpoſed to think that the queſtion, with regard to the juſtice of the quarrel, may be regarded as doubtful and uncertain. The murder of the king, the moſt atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illuſions; and it is not impoſſible, but he might believe it, as many others did, the moſt meritorious action that he could perform. His ſubſequent uſurpation was the effect of neceſſity, as well as of ambition; nor is it eaſy to ſee, how the various factions could at that time have been reſtrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwel, as a ſon, a huſband, a father, a friend, is expoſed to no conſiderable cenſure, if it does not rather merit praiſe. And, upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unuſual by the mixture of ſo much abſurdity with ſo much penetration, than by his tempering ſuch violent ambition and ſuch enraged fanaticiſm with ſo much regard to juſtice and humanity.

Cromwel was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he died. He was of a robuſt frame of body, and of a manly, though not of an agreeable aſpect. He left only two ſons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters; one married to general Fleetwood, another to lord Faulconberg, a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was young. His mother lived till after he was protector; and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Weſtminſter Abbey. She could not be perſuaded that his power or perſon was ever in ſafety. At every noiſe which ſhe heard, ſhe exclaimed, that her ſon was murdered; and was never ſatisfied that he was alive, if ſhe did not receive frequent viſits from him. She was a decent woman; and, by her frugality and induſtry, had raiſed and educated a numerous family upon a ſmall fortune. She had even been obliged to ſet up a brewery at Huntingdon, which ſhe managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwel, in the invectives of that age, is often ſtigmatiſed with the name of the brewer. Ludlow, by

way of inſult, mentions the great acceſſion, which he would receive to his royal revenues upon his mother's death, who poſſeſſed a jointure of ſixty pounds a-year upon his eſtate. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart; remotely allied, as is by ſome ſuppoſed, to the royal family.

CHAP. LXII.

Richard acknowledged protector—A parliament—Cabal of Wallingford-houſe—Richard depoſed—Long parliament or Rump reſtored—Conſpiracy of the royaliſts—Inſurrection—Suppreſſed—Parliament expelled—Committee of ſafety—Foreign Affairs—General Monk—Monk declares for the parliament—Parliament reſtored—Monk enters London, declares for a free parliament—Secluded members reſtored—Long parliament diſſolved—New parliament—The Reſtoration—Manners and arts.

ALL the arts of Cromwel's policy had been ſo often practiſed, that they began to loſe their effect; and his power, inſtead of being confirmed by time and ſucceſs, ſeemed every day to become more uncertain and precarious. His friends the moſt cloſely connected with him, and his counſellors the moſt truſted, were entering into cabals againſt his authority; and, with all his penetration into the characters of men, he could not find any miniſters on whom he could rely. Men of probity and honour, he knew, would not ſubmit to be the inſtruments of an uſurpation violent and illegal: Thoſe who were free from the reſtraint of principle, might betray, from intereſt, that cauſe, in which, from no better motives, they had enliſted themſelves. Even thoſe on whom he conferred any favour, never deemed the recompence an equivalent for the ſacrifices which they made to obtain it: Whoever was refuſed any demand, juſtified his anger by the ſpecious colours of conſcience and of duty.

duty. Such difficulties ſurrounded the protector, that his dying at ſo critical a time is eſteemed by many the moſt fortunate circumſtance that ever attended him; and it was thought, that all his courage and dexterity could not much longer have extended his uſurped adminiſtration.

But when that potent hand was removed, which conducted the government, every one expected a ſudden diſſolution of the unwieldy and ill-jointed fabric. Richard, a young man of no experience, educated in the country, accuſtomed to a retired life, unacquainted with the officers, and unknown to them, recommended by no military exploits, endeared by no familiarities, could not long, it was thought, maintain that authority, which his father had acquired by ſo many valorous atchievements and ſuch ſignal ſucceſſes. And when it was obſerved, that he poſſeſſed only the virtues of private life, which in his ſituation were ſo many vices; that indolence, incapacity, irreſolution, attended his facility and good nature; the various hopes of men were excited by the expectation of ſome great event or revolution. For ſome time, however, the public was diſappointed in this opinion. The council recogniſed the ſucceſſion of Richard: Fleetwood, in whoſe favour, it was ſuppoſed, Cromwel had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretenſion to the protectorſhip: Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, enſured him the obedience of that kingdom: Monk, whoſe authority was well eſtabliſhed in Scotland, being much attached to the family of Cromwel, immediately proclaimed the new protector: The army every-where, the fleet, acknowledged his title: Above ninety addreſſes, from the counties and moſt conſiderable corporations, congratulated him on his acceſſion, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance: Foreign miniſters were forward in paying him the uſual compliments: And Richard, whoſe moderate, unambitious character never would have led him to contend for empire, was tempted to accept of ſo rich an inheritance, which ſeemed to be tendered to him by the conſent of all mankind.

It was found neceſſary to call a parliament, in order to furniſh ſupplies, both for the ordinary adminiſtration, and for fulfilling thoſe engagements with foreign princes, particularly Sweden, into which the late protector had entered. In hopes of obtaining greater influence in elections, the ancient right was reſtored to all the ſmall boroughs; and the counties were allowed no more than their uſual members. The houſe of peers, or the other houſe, conſiſted of the ſame perſons that had been appointed by Oliver.

(1659, 7th Jan.) All the commons, at firſt, ſigned without heſitation, an engagement not to alter the preſent government. They next proceeded to examine *the humble petition and advice*; and after great oppoſition and many vehement debates, it was at length, with much difficulty, carried by the court-party to confirm it. An acknowledgment too of the authority of the other houſe was extorted from them; though it was reſolved not to treat this houſe of peers with any greater reſpect than they ſhould return to the commons. A declaration was alſo made, that the eſtabliſhment of the other houſe ſhould nowiſe prejudice the right of ſuch of the ancient peers as had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the parliament. But in all theſe proceedings, the oppoſition among the commons was ſo conſiderable, and the debates were ſo much prolonged, that all buſineſs was retarded, and great alarm given to the partiſans of the young protector.

But there was another quarter from which greater dangers were juſtly apprehended. The moſt conſiderable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the protector, were entering into cabals againſt him. No character in human ſociety is more dangerous than that of the fanatic; becauſe, if attended with weak judgment, he is expoſed to the ſuggeſtions of others; if ſupported by more diſcernment, he is entirely governed by his own illuſions, which ſanctify his moſt ſelfiſh views and paſſions. Fleetwood was of the former ſpecies; and as he was extremely addicted to a republic, and even to the fifth monarchy or dominion of the ſaints, it was eaſy

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for thoſe, who had inſinuated themſelves into his confidence, to inſtil diſguſts againſt the dignity of protector. The whole republican party in the army, which was ſtill conſiderable, Fitz-Maſon, Moſs, Farley, united themſelves to that general. The officers too of the ſame party, whom Cromwel had diſcarded, Overton, Ludlow, Rich, Okey, Alured, began to appear, and to recover that authority, which had been only for a time ſuſpended. A party likewiſe, who found themſelves eclipſed in Richard's favour, Sydenham, Kelſey, Berry, Haines, joined the cabal of the others. Even Deſborow, the protector's uncle, lent his authority to that faction. But above all, the intrigues of Lambert, who was now rouſed from his retreat, inflamed all thoſe dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with ſome great convulſion. The diſcontented officers eſtabliſhed their meetings in Fleetwood's apartments; and becauſe he dwelt in Wallingford-houſe, the party received a denomination from that place.

Richard, who poſſeſſed neither reſolution nor penetration, was prevailed on to give an unguarded conſent for calling a general council of officers, who might make him propoſals, as they pretended, for the good of the army. No ſooner were they aſſembled, than they voted a remonſtrance. They there lamented, that *the good old cauſe*, as they termed it, that is, the cauſe for which they had engaged againſt the late king, was entirely neglected; and they propoſed as a remedy, that the whole military power ſhould be entruſted to ſome perſon, in whom they might all confide. The city militia, influenced by two aldermen, Tichburn and Ireton, expreſſed the ſame reſolution of adhering to *the good old cauſe*.

The protector was juſtly alarmed at theſe movements among the officers. The perſons in whom he chiefly confided, were all of them, excepting Broghil, men of civil characters and profeſſions; Fiennes, Thurloe, Whitlocke, Wolſeley; who could only aſſiſt him with their advice and opinion. He poſſeſſed none of thoſe arts which were proper to gain an enthuſiaſtic army. Murmurs being thrown out againſt ſome promotions which

which he had made, *Would you have me*, ſaid he, *prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldſby*, continued he, *who can neither pray nor preach; yet will I truſt him before ye all.* This imprudence gave great offence to the pretended ſaints. The other qualities of the protector were correſpondent to theſe ſentiments: He was of a gentle, humane, and generous diſpoſition. Some of his party offering to put an end to thoſe intrigues by the death of Lambert, he declared, that he would not purchaſe power or dominion by ſuch ſanguinary meaſures.

The parliament was no leſs alarmed at the military cabals. They voted that there ſhould be no meeting or general council of officers, except with the protector's conſent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The officers haſtened to Richard, and demanded of him the diſſolution of the parliament. Deſborow, a man of a clowniſh and brutal nature, threatened him, if he ſhould refuſe compliance. The protector wanted the reſolution to deny, and poſſeſſed little ability to reſiſt. (22d April.) The parliament was diſſolved; and by the ſame act, the protector was, by every one, conſidered as effectually dethroned. Soon after, he ſigned his demiſſion in form.

Henry, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the ſame moderate diſpoſition as Richard; but as he poſſeſſed more vigour and capacity, it was apprehended that he might make reſiſtance. His popularity in Ireland was great; and even his perſonal authority, notwithſtanding his youth, was conſiderable. Had his ambition been very eager, he had, no doubt, been able to create diſturbance: But being threatened by ſir Hardreſs Waller, colonel John Jones, and other officers, he very quietly reſigned his command, and retired to England. He had once entertained thoughts, which he had not reſolution to execute, of proclaiming the king in Dublin.

Thus fell ſuddenly, and from an enormous height, but, by a rare fortune, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwels. Richard continued to poſſeſs

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an eſtate which was moderate, and burdened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the reſtoration, though he remained unmoleſted, he thought proper to travel for ſome years; and at Pezenas in Languedoc he was introduced, under a borrowed name, to the prince of Conti. That prince, talking of Engliſh affairs, broke out into admiration of Cromwel's courage and capacity. "But as for that poor pitiful fel-"low, Richard," ſaid he, "what is become of him? How "could he be ſuch a blockhead as to reap no greater be-"nefit from all his father's crimes and ſucceſſes?" Richard extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of queen Anne's reign. His ſocial virtues, more valuable than the greateſt capacity, met with a recompence, more precious than noiſy fame, and more ſuitable, contentment and tranquillity.

The council of officers, now poſſeſſed of ſupreme authority, deliberated what form of government they ſhould eſtabliſh. Many of them ſeemed inclined to exerciſe the power of the ſword in the moſt open manner; but as it was apprehended that the people would with great difficulty be induced to pay taxes, levied by arbitrary will and pleaſure; it was agreed to preſerve the ſhadow of civil adminiſtration, and to revive the long parliament, which had been expelled by Cromwel. That aſſembly could not be diſſolved, it was aſſerted, but by their own conſent; and violence had interrupted, but was not able to deſtroy, their right to government. The officers alſo expected that, as theſe members had ſufficiently felt their own weakneſs, they would be contented to act in ſubordination to the military commanders, and would thenceforth allow all the authority to remain where the power was ſo viſibly veſted.

The officers applied to Lenthal, the ſpeaker, and propoſed to him, that the parliament ſhould reſume their ſeats. Lenthal was of a low, timid ſpirit; and being uncertain what iſſue might attend theſe meaſures, was deſirous of evading the propoſal. He replied, that he could

could by no means comply with the desire of the officers; being engaged in a business of far greater importance to himself, which he could not omit on any account, because it concerned the salvation of his own soul. The officers pressed him to tell what it might be. He was preparing, he said, to participate of the Lord's supper, which he resolved to take next Sabbath. They insisted, that mercy was preferable to sacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himself for that great duty, than by contributing to the public service. All their remonstrances had no effect. However, on the appointed day, the speaker, being informed that a quorum of the house was likely to meet, thought proper, notwithstanding the salvation of his soul, as Ludlow observes, to join them; and the house immediately proceeded upon business. The secluded members attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

The numbers of this parliament were small, little exceeding seventy members: Their authority in the nation, ever since they had been purged by the army, was extremely diminished; and after their expulsion, had been totally annihilated: But being all of them men of violent ambition; some of them men of experience and capacity; they were resolved, since they enjoyed the title of the supreme authority, and observed that some appearance of a parliament was requisite for the purposes of the army, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their servants. They chose a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford-house should not be the majority: They appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inserted in his commission, that he should only continue during the pleasure of the house: They chose seven persons, who should nominate to such commands as became vacant: And they voted, that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and be assigned by him in the name of the house. These precautions, the tendency of which was visible, gave great disgust to the general officers; and their discontent would immediately have broken out into

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ſome reſolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by the apprehenſions of danger from the common enemy.

The bulk of the nation conſiſted of royaliſts and preſbyterians; and to both theſe parties the dominion of the pretended parliament had ever been to the laſt degree odious. When that aſſembly was expelled by Cromwel, contempt had ſucceeded to hatred; and no reſerve had been uſed in expreſſing the utmoſt deriſion againſt the impotent ambition of theſe uſurpers. Seeing them reinſtated in authority, all orders of men felt the higheſt indignation; together with apprehenſions, leſt ſuch tyrannical rulers ſhould exert their power by taking vengeance upon their enemies, who had ſo openly inſulted them. A ſecret reconciliation, therefore, was made between the rival parties; and it was agreed, that, burying former enmities in oblivion, all efforts ſhould be uſed for the overthrow of the rump; ſo they called the parliament, in alluſion to that part of the animal body. The preſbyterians, ſenſible, from experience, that their paſſion for liberty, however laudable, had carried them into unwarrantable exceſſes, were willing to lay aſide ancient jealouſies, and, at all hazards, to reſtore the royal family. The nobility, the gentry, bent their paſſionate endeavours to the ſame enterpriſe, by which alone they could be redeemed from ſlavery. And no man was ſo remote from party, ſo indifferent to public good, as not to feel the moſt ardent wiſhes for the diſſolution of that tyranny which, whether the civil or the military part of it were conſidered, appeared equally oppreſſive and ruinous to the nation.

Mordaunt, who had ſo narrowly eſcaped on his trial before the high court of juſtice, ſeemed rather animated than daunted with paſt danger; and having, by his reſolute behaviour, obtained the higheſt confidence of the royal party, he was now become the centre of all their conſpiracies. In many counties a reſolution was taken to riſe in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham and ſir Horatio Townſhend undertook to ſecure Lynne; general Maſſey engaged to ſeize Gloceſter: Lord Newport, Littleton,

Littleton, and other gentlemen, conſpired to take poſſeſſion of Shrewſbury; ſir George Booth of Cheſter; ſir Thomas Middleton of North-Wales; Arundel, Pollar, Granville, Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter. A day was appointed for the execution of all theſe enterpriſes. And the king, attended by the duke of York, had ſecretly arrived at Calais, with a reſolution of putting himſelf at the head of his loyal ſubjects. The French court had promiſed to ſupply him with a ſmall body of forces, in order to countenance the inſurrections of the Engliſh.

This combination was diſconcerted by the infidelity of ſir Richard Willis. That traitor continued with the parliament the ſame correſpondence which he had begun with Cromwel. He had engaged to reveal all conſpiracies, ſo far as to deſtroy their effect; but reſerved to himſelf, if he pleaſed, the power of concealing the conſpirators. He took care never to name any of the old, genuine cavaliers, who had zealouſly adhered, and were reſolved ſtill to adhere, to the royal cauſe in every fortune. Theſe men he eſteemed; theſe he even loved. He betrayed only the new converts among the preſbyterians, or ſuch lukewarm royaliſts, as, diſcouraged with their diſappointments, were reſolved to expoſe themſelves to no more hazards. A lively proof how impoſſible it is, even for the moſt corrupted minds, to diveſt themſelves of all regard to morality and ſocial duty!

(July.) Many of the conſpirators in the different counties were thrown into priſon: Others, aſtoniſhed at ſuch ſymptoms of ſecret treachery, left their houſes, or remained quiet: The moſt tempeſtuous weather prevailed during the whole time appointed for the rendezvouſes; inſomuch that ſome found it impoſſible to join their friends, and others were diſmayed with fear and ſuperſtition at an accident ſo unuſual during the ſummer ſeaſon. Of all the projects, the only one which took effect was that of ſir George Booth for the ſeizing of Cheſter. The earl of Derby, lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee, colonel Morgan, entered into this enterpriſe. Sir William

liam Middleton joined Booth with ſome troops from North-Wales; and the malcontents were powerful enough to ſubdue all in that neighbourhood who ventured to oppoſe them. In their declaration they made no mention of the king: They only demanded a free and full parliament.

The parliament was juſtly alarmed. How combuſtible the materials, they well knew; and the fire was now fallen among them. Booth was of a family eminently preſbyterian; and his conjunction with the royaliſts they regarded as a dangerous ſymptom. They had many officers whoſe fidelity they could more depend on than that of Lambert: But there was no one in whoſe vigilance and capacity they repoſed ſuch confidence. They commiſſioned him to ſuppreſs the rebels. He made incredible haſte. Booth imprudently ventured himſelf out of the walls of Cheſter, and expoſed, in the open field, his raw troops againſt theſe hardy veterans. He was ſoon routed and taken priſoner. His whole army was diſperſed. And the parliament had no farther occupation than to fill all the jails with their open or ſecret enemies. Deſigns were even entertained of tranſporting the loyal families to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the other colonies; leſt they ſhould propagate in England children of the ſame malignant affections with themſelves.

This ſucceſs haſtened the ruin of the parliament. Lambert, at the head of a body of troops, was no leſs dangerous to them than Booth. A thouſand pounds, which they ſent him to buy a jewel, were employed by him in liberalities to his officers. At his inſtigation they drew up a petition, and tranſmitted it to Fleetwood, a weak man, and an honeſt, if ſincerity in folly deſerve that honourable name. The import of this petition was, that Fleetwood ſhould be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general, Deſborow lieutenant-general of the horſe, Monk major-general of the foot. To which a demand was added, that no officer ſhould be diſmiſſed from his command but by a court-martial.

The parliament, alarmed at the danger, immediately caſhiered Lambert, Deſborow, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelſey,

Kelſey, Cobbet. Sir Arthur Hazelrig propoſed the impeachment of Lambert for high treaſon. Fleetwood's commiſſion was vacated, and the command of the army was veſted in ſeven perſons, of whom that general was one. The parliament voted, that they would have no more general officers. And they declared it high treaſon to levy any money without conſent of parliament.

But theſe votes were feeble weapons in oppoſition to the ſwords of the ſoldiery. Lambert drew ſome troops together, in order to decide the controverſy. Okey, who was leading his regiment to the aſſiſtance of the parliament, was deſerted by them. Morley and Moſs brought their regiments into Palace-yard, reſolute to oppoſe the violence of Lambert. (13th Oct.) But that artful general knew an eaſy way of diſappointing them. He placed his ſoldiers in the ſtreets which lead to Weſtminſter-hall. When the ſpeaker came in his coach, he ordered the horſes to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were in like manner intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace-yard, obſerving that they were expoſed to deriſion, peaceably retired to their quarters. A little before this bold enterpriſe, a ſolemn faſt had been kept by the army; and it is remarked, that this ceremony was the uſual prelude to every ſignal violence which they committed.

The officers found themſelves again inveſted with ſupreme authority, of which they intended for ever to retain the ſubſtance, however they might beſtow on others the empty ſhadow or appearance. (26th Oct.) They elected a committee of twenty-three perſons, of whom ſeven were officers. Theſe they pretended to inveſt with ſovereign authority; and they called them a *committee of ſafety*. They ſpoke every-where of ſummoning a parliament choſen by the people; but they really took ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a military parliament, compoſed of officers elected from every regiment in the ſervice. Throughout the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody maſſacre and extermination; to the reſt of the people, of perpetual ſervitude, beneath theſe ſanctified

robbers, whoſe union and whoſe diviſions would be equally deſtructive, and who, under pretence of ſuperior illuminations, would ſoon extirpate, if poſſible, all private morality, as they had already done all public law and juſtice, from the Britiſh dominions.

During the time that England continued in this diſtracted condition, the other kingdoms of Europe were haſtening towards a compoſure of thoſe differences by which they had ſo long been agitated. The parliament, while it preſerved authority, inſtead of following the imprudent politics of Cromwel, and lending aſſiſtance to the conquering Swede, embraced the maxims of the Dutch commonwealth, and reſolved, in conjunction with that ſtate, to mediate by force an accommodation between the northern crowns. Montague was ſent with a ſquadron to the Baltic, and carried with him as ambaſſador Algernon Sidney, the celebrated republican. Sidney found the Swediſh monarch employed in the ſiege of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy; and was highly pleaſed, that, with a Roman arrogance, he could check the progreſs of royal victories, and diſplay in ſo ſignal a manner the ſuperiority of freedom above tyranny. With the higheſt indignation, the ambitious prince was obliged to ſubmit to the imperious mediation of the two commonwealths. "It is cruel," ſaid he, "that laws "ſhould be preſcribed me by parricides and pedlers." But his whole army was encloſed in an iſland, and might be ſtarved by the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland. He was obliged, therefore, to quit his prey, when he had ſo nearly gotten poſſeſſion of it; and having agreed to a pacification with Denmark, he retired into his own country, where he ſoon after died.

The wars between France and Spain were alſo concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees. Theſe animoſities had long been carried on between the rival ſtates, even while governed by a ſiſter and brother, who cordially loved and eſteemed each other. But politics, which had ſo long prevailed over theſe friendly affections, now at laſt yielded to their influence; and never was the triumph more full and complete. The Spaniſh Low Countries,

if not every part of that monarchy, lay almoſt entirely at the mercy of its enemy. Broken armies, diſordered finances, ſlow and irreſolute counſels; by theſe reſources alone were the diſperſed provinces of Spain defended againſt the vigorous power of France. But the queen regent, anxious for the fate of her brother, employed her authority with the cardinal to ſtop the progreſs of the French conqueſts, and put an end to a quarrel, which, being commenced by ambition, and attended with victory, was at laſt concluded with moderation. The young monarch of France, though aſpiring and warlike in his character, was at this time entirely occupied in the pleaſures of love and gallantry, and had paſſively reſigned the reins of empire into the hands of his politic miniſter. And he remained an unconcerned ſpectator; while an opportunity for conqueſt was parted with, which he never was able, during the whole courſe of his active reign, fully to retrieve.

The miniſters of the two crowns, Mazarine and don Louis de Haro, met at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the iſle of Pheaſants, a place which was ſuppoſed to belong to neither kingdom. The negotiation being brought to an iſſue by frequent conferences between the miniſters, the monarchs themſelves agreed to a congreſs; and theſe two ſplendid courts appeared in their full luſtre amidſt thoſe ſavage mountains. Philip brought his daughter, Mary Thereſe, along with him; and giving her in marriage to his nephew, Louis, endeavoured to cement by this new tie the incompatible intereſts of the two monarchies. The French king made a ſolemn renunciation of every ſucceſſion, which might accrue to him in right of his conſort; a vain formality, too weak to reſtrain the ungoverned ambition of princes.

The affairs of England were in ſo great diſorder, that it was not poſſible to comprehend that kingdom in the treaty, or adjuſt meaſures with a power which was in ſuch inceſſant fluctuation. The king, reduced to deſpair by the failure of all enterpriſes for his reſtoration, was reſolved to try the weak reſource of foreign ſuccours; and he went to the Pyrenees at the time when the two miniſters

miniſters were in the midſt of their negotiations. Don Louis received him with that generous civility peculiar to his nation; and expreſſed great inclination, had the low condition of Spain allowed him, to give aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed monarch. The cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the Engliſh commonwealth, refuſed even to ſee him; and though the king offered to marry the cardinal's niece, he could, for the preſent, obtain nothing but empty profeſſions of reſpect, and proteſtations of ſervices. The condition of that monarch, to all the world, ſeemed totally deſperate. His friends had been baffled in every attempt for his ſervice: The ſcaffold had often ſtreamed with the blood of the more active royaliſts; the ſpirits of many were broken with tedious impriſonments: The eſtates of all were burdened by the fines and confiſcations which had been levied upon them: No one durſt openly avow himſelf of that party: And ſo ſmall did their number ſeem to a ſuperficial view, that, even ſhould the nation recover its liberty, which was deemed no-wiſe probable, it was judged uncertain what form of government it would embrace. But amidſt all theſe gloomy proſpects, fortune, by a ſurpriſing revolution, was now paving the way for the king to mount, in peace and triumph, the throne of his anceſtors. It was by the prudence and loyalty of general Monk, that this happy change was at laſt accompliſhed.

George Monk, to whom the fate was reſerved of reeſtabliſhing monarchy, and finiſhing the bloody diſſenſions of three kingdoms, was the ſecond ſon of a family in Devonſhire, ancient and honourable, but lately, from too great hoſpitality and expenſe, ſomewhat fallen to decay. He betook himſelf, in early youth, to the profeſſion of arms; and was engaged in the unfortunate expeditions to Cadiz and the iſle of Rhé. After England had concluded peace with all her neighbours, he ſought military experience in the Low Countries, the great ſchool of war to all the European nations; and he roſe to the command of a company under lord Goring. This company conſiſted of 200 men, of whom a hundred were

volunteers, often men of family and fortune, ſometimes noblemen who lived upon their own income in a ſplendid manner. Such a military turn at that time prevailed among the Engliſh!

When the ſound of war was firſt heard in this iſland, Monk returned to England, partly deſirous of promotion in his native country, partly diſguſted with ſome ill-uſage from the States, of which he found reaſon to complain. Upon the Scottiſh pacification, he was employed by the earl of Leiceſter againſt the Iriſh rebels; and having obtained a regiment, was ſoon taken notice of, for his military ſkill, and for his calm and deliberate valour. Without oſtentation, expenſe, or careſſes, merely by his humane and equal temper, he gained the good-will of the ſoldiery; who, with a mixture of familiarity and affection, uſually called him *honeſt George Monk*; an honourable appellation, which they ſtill continued to him, even during his greateſt elevation. He was remarkable for his moderation in party; and while all around him were inflamed into rage againſt the oppoſite faction, he fell under ſuſpicion from the candour and tranquillity of his behaviour. When the Iriſh army was called over into England, ſurmiſes of this kind had been ſo far credited, that he had even been ſuſpended from his command, and ordered to Oxford, that he might anſwer the charge laid againſt him. His eſtabliſhed character for truth and ſincerity here ſtood him in great ſtead; and upon his earneſt proteſtations and declarations, he was ſoon reſtored to his regiment, which he joined at the ſiege of Nantwich. The day after his arrival, Fairfax attacked and defeated the royaliſts, commanded by Byron; and took colonel Monk priſoner. He was ſent to the Tower, where he endured, about two years, all the rigours of poverty and confinement. The king, however, was ſo mindful as to ſend him, notwithſtanding his own difficulties, a preſent of 100 guineas; but it was not till after the royaliſts were totally ſubdued, that he recovered his liberty. Monk, however diſtreſſed, had always refuſed the moſt inviting offers from the parliament: But Cromwel, ſenſible of his merit, having ſolicited

ſolicited him to engage in the wars againſt the Iriſh, who were conſidered as rebels both by king and parliament; he was not unwilling to repair his broken fortunes by accepting a command which, he flattered himſelf, was reconcilable to the ſtricteſt principles of honour. Having once engaged with the parliament, he was obliged to obey orders; and found himſelf neceſſitated to fight, both againſt the marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and againſt the king himſelf in Scotland. Upon the reduction of the latter kingdom, Monk was left with the ſupreme command; and by the equality and juſtice of his adminiſtration, he was able to give contentment to that reſtleſs people, now reduced to ſubjection by a nation whom they hated. No leſs acceptable was his authority to the officers and ſoldiers; and foreſeeing, that the good-will of the army under his command might ſome time be of great ſervice to him, he had, with much care and ſucceſs, cultivated their friendſhip.

The connexions which he had formed with Cromwel, his benefactor, preſerved him faithful to Richard, who had been enjoined by his father to follow in every thing the directions of general Monk. When the long parliament was reſtored, Monk, who was not prepared for oppoſition, acknowledged their authority, and was continued in his command, from which it would not have been ſafe to attempt diſlodging him. After the army had expelled the parliament, he proteſted againſt the violence, and reſolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper deſigns, either in the king's favour or his own, were, from the beginning, ſuſpected to be the motive of his actions.

A rivalſhip had long ſubſiſted between him and Lambert; and every body ſaw the reaſon why he oppoſed the elevation of that ambitious general, by whoſe ſucceſs his own authority, he knew, would ſoon be ſubverted. But little friendſhip had ever ſubſiſted between him and the parliamentary leaders; and it ſeemed nowiſe probable, that he intended to employ his induſtry, and ſpend his blood, for the advancement of one enemy above another. How early he entertained deſigns for the king's reſtoration,

tion, we know not with certainty: It is likely, that as ſoon as Richard was depoſed, he foreſaw, that without ſuch an expedient, it would be impoſſible ever to bring the nation to a regular ſettlement. His elder and younger brothers were devoted to the royal cauſe: The Granvilles, his near relations, and all the reſt of his kindred, were in the ſame intereſts: He himſelf was intoxicated with no fumes of enthuſiaſm, and had maintained no connexions with any of the fanatical tribe. His early engagements had been with the king, and he had left that ſervice without receiving any diſguſt from the royal family. Since he had enliſted himſelf with the oppoſite party, he had been guilty of no violence or rigour, which might render him obnoxious. His return, therefore, to loyalty was eaſy and open; and nothing could be ſuppoſed to counterbalance his natural propenſity to that meaſure, except the views of his own elevation, and the proſpect of uſurping the ſame grandeur and authority which had been aſſumed by Cromwel. But from ſuch exorbitant, if not impoſſible projects, the natural tranquillity and moderation of his temper, the calmneſs and ſolidity of his genius, not to mention his age, now upon the decline, ſeem to have ſet him at a diſtance. Cromwel himſelf, he always aſſerted, could not long have maintained his uſurpation; and any other perſon, even equal to him in genius, it was obvious, would now find it more difficult to practiſe arts, of which every one, from experience, was ſufficiently aware. It is more agreeable, therefore, to reaſon as well as candour, to ſuppoſe that Monk, as ſoon as he put himſelf in motion, had entertained views of effecting the king's reſtoration; nor ought any objections, derived from his profound ſilence even to Charles himſelf, to be regarded as conſiderable. His temper was naturally reſerved; his circumſtances required diſſimulation; the king, he knew, was ſurrounded with ſpies and traitors; and upon the whole, it ſeems hard to interpret that conduct, which ought to exalt our idea of his prudence, as a diſparagement of his probity.

Sir John Granville, hoping that the general would engage in the king's ſervice, ſent into Scotland his younger

younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the king. When the doctor arrived, he found that his brother was then holding a council of officers, and was not to be ſeen for ſome hours. In the mean time, he was received and entertained by Price, the general's chaplain, a man of probity, as well as a partiſan of the king's. The doctor, having an entire confidence in the chaplain, talked very freely to him about the object of his journey, and engaged him, if there ſhould be occaſion, to ſecond his applications. At laſt, the general arrives; the brothers embrace; aad after ſome preliminary converſation, the doctor opens his buſineſs. Monk interrupted him, to know whether he had ever before to any body mentioned the ſubject. "To nobody," replied his brother, "but to Price, whom I know to "be entirely in your confidence." The general, altering his countenance, turned the diſcourſe; and would enter into no farther confidence with him, but ſent him away with the firſt opportunity. He would not truſt his own brother the moment he knew that he had diſcloſed the ſecret; though to a man whom he himſelf could have truſted.

His conduct in all other particulars was full of the ſame reſerve and prudence; and no leſs was requiſite for effecting the difficult work which he had undertaken. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any ſuſpicion, he immedintely caſhiered: Cobbet, who had been ſent by the committee of ſafety, under pretence of communicating their reſolutions to Monk, but really with a view of debauching his army, he committed to cuſtody: He drew together the ſeveral ſcattered regiments: He ſummoned an aſſembly, ſomewhat reſembling a convention of ſtates; and having communicated to them his reſolution of marching into England, he received a ſeaſonable, though no great ſupply of money.

Hearing that Lambert was advancing northward with his army, Monk ſent Clobery and two other commiſſioners to London, with large profeſſions of his inclina-

inclination to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. His chief aim was to gain time, and relax the preparations of his enemies. The committee of ſafety fell into the ſnare. A treaty was ſigned by Monk's commiſſioners; but he refuſed to ratify it, and complained that they had exceeded their powers. He deſired, however, to enter into a new negotiation at Newcaſtle. The committee willingly accepted this fallacious offer.

(November.) Meanwhile theſe military ſovereigns found themſelves ſurrounded on all hands with inextricable difficulties. The nation had fallen into total anarchy; and by refuſing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greateſt neceſſities. While Lambert's forces were aſſembling at Newcaſtle, Hazelrig and Morley took poſſeſſion of Portſmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party, ſent to ſuppreſs them, was perſuaded by their commander to join in the ſame declaration. The city apprentices roſe in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament. Though they were ſuppreſſed by colonel Hewſon, a man who from the profeſſion of a cobler had riſen to a high rank in the army, the city ſtill diſcovered ſymptoms of the moſt dangerous diſcontent. It even eſtabliſhed a kind of ſeparate government, and aſſumed the ſupreme authority within itſelf. Admiral Lawſon with his ſquadron came into the river, and declared for the parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing of this important event, left Portſmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near that city being ſolicited by their old officers, who had been caſhiered by the committee of ſafety, revolted again to the parliament. Deſborow's regiment, being ſent by Lambert to ſupport his friends, no ſooner arrived at St. Albans, than it declared for the ſame aſſembly.

Fleetwood's hand was found too weak and unſtable to ſupport this ill-founded fabric, which, every-where around him, was falling into ruins. When he received intelligence of any murmurs among the ſoldiers, he would proſtrate himſelf in prayer, and could hardly be prevailed with to join the troops. Even when among them, he

he would, in the midſt of any diſcourſe, invite them all to prayer, and put himſelf on his knees before them. If any of his friends exhorted him to more vigour, they could get no other anſwer, than that God had ſpitten in his face, and would not hear him. Men now ceaſed to wonder, why Lambert had promoted him to the office of general, and had contented himſelf with the ſecond command in the army.

(26th Dec.) Lenthal, the ſpeaker, being invited by the officers, again aſſumed authority, and ſummoned together the parliament, which twice before had been expelled with ſo much reproach and ignominy. As ſoon as aſſembled, they repealed their act againſt the payment of exciſe and cuſtoms; they appointed commiſſioners for aſſigning quarters to the army; and, without taking any notice of Lambert, they ſent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to thoſe quarters which were appointed them.

(1660, January 1.) Lambert was now in a very diſconſolate condition. Monk, he ſaw, had paſſed the Tweed at Coldſtream, and was advancing upon him. His own ſoldiers deſerted him in great multitudes, and joined the enemy. Lord Fairfax too, he heard, had raiſed forces behind him, and had poſſeſſed himſelf of York, without declaring his purpoſe. The laſt orders of the parliament ſo entirely ſtripped him of his army, that there remained not with him above a hundred horſe: All the reſt went to their quarters with quietneſs and reſignation; and he himſelf was, ſome time after, arreſted and committed to the Tower. The other officers, who had formerly been caſhiered by the parliament, and who had reſumed their commands, that they might ſubdue that aſſembly, were again caſhiered and confined to their houſes. Sir Harry Vane and ſome members, who had concurred with the committee of ſafety, were ordered into a like confinement. And the parliament now ſeemed to be again poſſeſſed of more abſolute authority than ever, and to be without any danger of oppoſition or control.

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The republican party was at this time guided by two men, Hazelrig and Vane, who were of oppoſite characters, and mortally hated each other. Hazelrig, who poſſeſſed great authority in the parliament, was haughty, imperious precipitate, vain-glorious; without civility, without prudence; qualified only by his noiſy, pertinacious obſtinacy to acquire an aſcendant in public aſſemblies. Vane was noted, in all civil tranſactions, for temper, inſinuation, addreſs, and a profound judgment; in all religious ſpeculations, for folly and extravagance. He was a perfect enthuſiaſt; and fancying that he was certainly favoured with inſpiration, he deemed himſelf, to ſpeak in the language of the times, to be a *man above ordinances*, and, by reaſon of his perfection, to be unlimited and unreſtrained by any rules, which govern inferior mortals. Theſe whimſies, mingling with pride, had ſo corrupted his excellent underſtanding, that ſometimes he thought himſelf the perſon deputed to reign on earth for a thouſand years over the whole congregation of the faithful.

Monk, though informed of the reſtoration of the parliament, from whom he received no orders, ſtill advanced with his army, which was near 6000 men: The ſcattered forces in England were above five times more numerous. Fairfax, who had reſolved to declare for the king, not being able to make the general open his intentions, retired to his own houſe in Yorkſhire. In all counties through which Monk paſſed, the prime gentry flocked to him with addreſſes; expreſſing their earneſt deſire, that he would be inſtrumental in reſtoring the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of thoſe liberties, which by law were their birth-right, but of which, during ſo many years, they had been fatally bereaved: And that, in order to this ſalutary purpoſe, he would prevail, either for the reſtoring of thoſe members who had been ſecluded before the king's death, or for the election of a new parliament, who might legally, and by general conſent, again govern the nation. Though Monk pretended not to favour theſe addreſſes, that

that ray of hope, which the knowledge of his character and ſituation afforded, mightily animated all men. The tyranny and the anarchy, which now equally oppreſſed the kingdom; the experience of paſt diſtractions, the dread of future convulſions, the indignation againſt military uſurpation, againſt ſanctified hypocriſy: All theſe motives had united every party, except the moſt deſperate, into ardent wiſhes for the king's reſtoration, the only remedy for all theſe fatal evils.

Scot and Robinſon were ſent as deputies by the parliament, under pretence of congratulating the general, but in reality to ſerve as ſpies upon him. The city deſpatched four of their principal citizens to perform like compliments; and at the ſame time to confirm the general in his inclination to a free parliament, the object of all men's prayers and endeavours. The authority of Monk could ſcarcely ſecure the parliamentary deputies from thoſe inſults, which the general hatred and contempt towards their maſters drew from men of every rank and denomination.

Monk continued his march with few interruptions till he reached St. Albans. He there ſent a meſſage to the parliament; deſiring them to remove from London thoſe regiments, which, though they now profeſſed to return to their duty, had ſo lately offered violence to that aſſembly. This meſſage was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed the houſe. Their fate, they found, muſt ſtill depend on a mercenary army; and they were as diſtant as ever from their imaginary ſovereignty. However, they found it neceſſary to comply. The ſoldiers made more difficulty. A mutiny aroſe among them. One regiment, in particular, quartered in Somerſet-houſe, expreſly refuſed to yield their place to the northern army. But thoſe officers who would gladly, on ſuch an occaſion, have inflamed the quarrel, were abſent or in confinement; and for want of leaders, the ſoldiers were at laſt, with great reluctance, obliged to ſubmit. (Feb. 3d.) Monk with his army took quarters in Weſtminſter.

(Feb. 6th.) The general was introduced to the houſe; and thanks were given him by Lenthal for the eminent

ſervices which he had done his country. Monk was a prudent not an eloquent ſpeaker. He told the houſe, that the ſervices, which he had been enabled to perform, were no more than his duty, and merited not ſuch praiſes as thoſe with which they were pleaſed to honour him: That among many perſons of greater worth, who bore their commiſſion, he had been employed as the inſtrument of providence for effecting their reſtoration; but he conſidered this ſervice as a ſtep only to more important ſervices, which it was *their* part to render to the nation: That while on his march, he obſerved all ranks of men in all places, to be in earneſt expectation of a ſettlement, after the violent convulſions to which they had been expoſed; and to have no proſpect of that bleſſing but from the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and from the ſummoning of a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: That applications had been made to him for that purpoſe; but that he, ſenſible of his duty, had ſtill told the petitioners, that the parliament itſelf, which was now free and would ſoon be full, was the beſt judge of all theſe meaſures, and that the whole community ought to acquieſce in their determination: That though he expreſſed himſelf in this manner to the people, he muſt now freely inform the houſe, that the fewer engagements were exacted the more comprehenſive would their plan prove, and the more ſatisfaction would it give to the nation: And that it was ſufficient for public ſecurity, if the fanatical party and the royaliſts were excluded; ſince the principles of theſe factions were deſtructive either of government or of liberty.

This ſpeech, containing matter which was both agreeable and diſagreeable to the houſe as well as to the nation, ſtill kept every one in ſuſpenſe, and upheld that uncertainty, in which it ſeemed the general's intereſt to retain the public. But it was impoſſible for the kingdom to remain long in this doubtful ſituation: The people, as well as the parliament, puſhed matters to a deciſion. During the late convulſions, the payment of taxes

taxes had been interrupted; and though the parliament, upon their aſſembling, renewed the ordinances for impoſitions, yet ſo little reverence did the people pay to thoſe legiſlators, that they gave very ſlow and unwilling obedience to their commands. The common-council of London flatly refuſed to ſubmit to an aſſeſſment required of them; and declared that, till a free and lawful parliament impoſed taxes, they never ſhould deem it their duty to make any payment. This reſolution, if yielded to, would immediately have put an end to the dominion of the parliament: They were determined, therefore, upon this occaſion, to make at once a full experiment of their own power and of their general's obedience.

(Feb. 9.) Monk received orders to march into the city; to ſeize twelve perſons, the moſt obnoxious to the parliament; to remove the poſts and chains from all the ſtreets; and to take down and break the portculliſes and gates of the city: And very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of theſe violent orders. To the great ſurpriſe and conſternation of all men, Monk prepared himſelf for obedience. Neglecting the entreaties of his friends, the remonſtrances of his officers, the cries of the people, he entered the city in a military manner; he apprehended as many as he could of the proſcribed perſons, whom he ſent to the Tower; with all the circumſtances of contempt, he broke the gates and portculliſes; and having expoſed the city to the ſcorn and deriſion of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Weſtminſter.

No ſooner had the general leiſure to reflect, than he found, that this laſt meaſure, inſtead of being a continuation of that cautious ambiguity, which he had hitherto maintained, was taking party without reſerve, and laying himſelf, as well as the nation, at the mercy of that tyrannical parliament, whoſe power had long been odious, as their perſons contemptible, to all men. He reſolved, therefore, before it were too late, to repair the dangerous miſtake into which he had been betrayed, and to ſhow the whole world, ſtill more without reſerve, that he meant no longer to be the miniſter of violence

and uſurpation. (Feb. 11.) After complaining of the odious ſervice in which he had been employed, he wrote a letter to the houſe, reproaching them, as well with the new cabals which they had formed with Vane and Lambert, as with the encouragement given to a fanatical petition preſented by Praiſegod Barebone; and he required them, in the name of the citizens, ſoldiers, and whole commonwealth, to iſſue writs, within a week, for the filling of their houſe, and to fix the time for their own diſſolution and the aſſembling of a new parliament. Having deſpatched this letter, which might be regarded, he thought, as an undoubted pledge of his ſincerity, he marched with his army into the city, and deſired Allen, the mayor, to ſummon a common-council at Guildhall. He there made many apologies for the indignity which, two days before, he had been obliged to put upon them; aſſured them of his perſeverance in the meaſures which he had adopted; and deſired that they might mutually plight their faith for a ſtrict union between city and army, in every enterpriſe for the happineſs and ſettlement of the commonwealth.

It would be difficult to deſcribe the joy and exultation, which diſplayed itſelf throughout the city, as ſoon as intelligence was conveyed of this happy meaſure, embraced by the general. The proſpect of peace, concord, liberty, juſtice, broke forth at once, from amidſt the deepeſt darkneſs in which the nation had ever been involved. The view of paſt calamities no longer preſented diſmal prognoſtics of the future: It tended only to enhance the general exultation for thoſe ſcenes of happineſs and tranquillity, which all men now confidently promiſed themſelves. The royaliſts, the preſbyterians, forgetting all animoſities, mingled in common joy and tranſport, and vowed never more to gratify the ambition of falſe and factious tyrants, by their calamitous diviſions. The populace, more outrageous in their feſtivity, made the air reſound with acclamations, and illuminated every ſtreet with ſignals of jollity and triumph. Applauſes of the general were every-where intermingled with deteſtation againſt the parliament. The moſt ridi-

culous

culous inventions were adopted, in order to expreſs this latter paſſion. At every bonfire rumps were roaſted, and where theſe could no longer be found, pieces of fleſh were cut into that ſhape; and the funeral of the parliament (the populace exclaimed) was celebrated by theſe ſymbols of hatred and deriſion.

The parliament, though in the agonies of deſpair, made ſtill one effort for the recovery of their dominion. They ſent a committee with offers to gain the general. He refuſed to hear them, except in the preſence of ſome of the ſecluded members. Though ſeveral perſons, deſperate from guilt and fanaticiſm, promiſed to inveſt him with the dignity of ſupreme magiſtrate, and to ſupport his government, he would not hearken to ſuch wild propoſals. Having fixed a cloſe correſpondence with the city, and eſtabliſhed its militia in hands whoſe fidelity could be relied on, he returned with his army to Weſtminſter, and purſued every proper meaſure for the ſettlement of the nation. While he ſtill pretended to maintain republican principles, he was taking large ſteps towards the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient monarchy.

(Feb. 21.) The ſecluded members, upon the general's invitation, went to the houſe, and finding no longer any obſtruction, they entered, and immediately appeared to be the majority: Moſt of the independents left the place. The reſtored members firſt repealed all the ordinances by which they had been excluded: They gave ſir George Booth and his party their liberty and eſtates: They renewed the general's commiſſion, and enlarged his powers: They fixed an aſſeſſment for the ſupport of the fleet and army: (March 16.) And having paſſed theſe votes for the preſent compoſure of the kingdom, they diſſolved themſelves, and iſſued writs for the immediate aſſembling of a new parliament. This laſt meaſure had been previouſly concerted with the general, who knew that all men, however different in affections, expectations, and deſigns, united in the deteſtation of the long parliament.

A council of ſtate was eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of men of character and moderation; moſt of whom, during

the civil wars, had made a great figure among the preſbyterians. The militia of the kingdom was put into ſuch hands as would promote order and ſettlement. Theſe, conjoined with Monk's army, which lay united at London, were eſteemed a ſufficient check on the more numerous, though diſperſed army, of whoſe inclinations there was ſtill much reaſon to be diffident. Monk, however, was every day removing the more obnoxious officers, and bringing the troops to a ſtate of diſcipline and obedience.

Overton, governor of Hull, had declared his reſolution to keep poſſeſſion of that fortreſs till the coming of king Jeſus: But when Alured produced the authority of parliament for his delivering the place to colonel Fairfax, he thought proper to comply.

Montague, who commanded the fleet in the Baltic, had entered into the conſpiracy with ſir George Booth; and pretending want of proviſions, had ſailed from the Sound towards the coaſt of England, with an intention of ſupporting that inſurrection of the royaliſts. On his arrival he received the news of Booth's defeat, and the total failure of the enterpriſe. The great difficulties, to which the parliament was then reduced, allowed them no leiſure to examine ſtrictly the reaſons which he gave for quitting his ſtation; and they allowed him to retire peaceably to his country-houſe. The council of ſtate now conferred on him, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet; and ſecured the naval as well as military force in hands favourable to the public ſettlement.

Notwithſtanding all theſe ſteps which were taking towards the re-eſtabliſhment of monarchy, Monk ſtill maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and hitherto allowed no canal of correſpondence between himſelf and the king to be opened. To call a free parliament, and to reſtore the royal family, were viſibly, in the preſent diſpoſition of the kingdom, one and the ſame meaſure: Yet would not the general declare, otherwiſe than by his actions, that he had adopted the king's intereſts; and nothing but neceſſity extorted at laſt the confeſ-

confeſſion from him. His ſilence, in the commencement of his enterpriſe, ought to be no objection to his ſincerity; ſince he maintained the ſame reſerve, at a time, when, conſiſtent with common ſenſe, he could have entertained no other purpoſe *.

There was one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonſhire, of a ſedentary, ſtudious diſpoſition, nearly related to Monk, and one who had always maintained the ſtricteſt intimacy with him. With this friend alone did Monk deliberate concerning that great enterpriſe which he had projected. Sir John Granville, who had a commiſſion from the king, applied to Morrice for acceſs to the general; but received for anſwer, that the general deſired him to communicate his buſineſs to Morrice. Granville, though importunately urged, twice refuſed to deliver his meſſage to any but Monk himſelf; and this cautious politician, finding him now a perſon, whoſe ſecreſy could be ſafely truſted, admitted him to his preſence, and opened to him his whole intentions. Still he ſcrupled to commit any thing to writing: He delivered only a verbal meſſage by Granville; aſſuring the king of his ſervices, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him inſtantly to leave the Spaniſh territories, and retire into Holland. He was apprehenſive leſt Spain might detain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles followed theſe directions, and very narrowly eſcaped to Breda. Had he protracted his journey a few hours, he had certainly, under pretence of honour and reſpect, been arreſted by the Spaniards.

Lockhart, who was governor of Dunkirk, and nowiſe averſe to the king's ſervice, was applied to on this occaſion. The ſtate of England was ſet before him, the certainty of the reſtoration repreſented, and the proſpect of great favour diſplayed, if he would anticipate the vows of the kingdom, and receive the king into his fortreſs. Lockhart ſtill replied, that his commiſſion was derived from an Engliſh parliament, and he would not open his gates but in obedience to the ſame

* See note [F] at the end of the volume.

authority.

authority. This ſcruple, though in the preſent emergence it approaches towards ſuperſtition, it is difficult for us entirely to condemn.

The elections for the new parliament went everywhere in favour of the king's party. This was one of thoſe popular torrents, where the moſt indifferent, or even the moſt averſe, are tranſported with the general paſſion, and zealouſly adopt the ſentiments of the community to which they belong. The enthuſiaſts themſelves ſeemed to be diſarmed of their fury; and between deſpair and aſtoniſhment gave way to thoſe meaſures, which, they found, it would be impoſſible for them, by their utmoſt efforts, to withſtand. The preſbyterians and the royaliſts, being united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noiſe, but with infinite ardour, called for the king's reſtoration. The kingdom was almoſt entirely in the hands of the former party; and ſome zealous leaders among them began to renew the demand of thoſe conditions, which had been required of the late king in the treaty of Newport: But the general opinion ſeemed to condemn all thoſe rigorous and jealous capitulations with their ſovereign. Haraſſed with convulſions and diſorders, men ardently longed for repoſe, and were terrified at the mention of negotiations or delays, which might afford opportunity to the ſeditious army ſtill to breed new confuſion. The paſſion too for liberty, having been carried to ſuch violent extremes, and having produced ſuch bloody commotions, began, by a natural movement, to give place to a ſpirit of loyalty and obedience; and the public was leſs zealous in a cauſe which was become odious on account of the calamities which had ſo long attended it. After the legal conceſſions made by the late king, the conſtitution ſeemed to be ſufficiently ſecured; and the additional conditions inſiſted on, as they had been framed during the greateſt ardour of the conteſt, amounted rather to annihilation than a limitation of monarchy. Above all, the general was averſe to the mention of conditions; and reſolved that the crown, which he intended to reſtore, ſhould be conferred on the king entirely free and unin-

unincumbered. Without farther ſcruple, therefore, or jealouſy, the people gave their voice in elections for ſuch as they knew to entertain ſentiments favourable to monarchy; and all paid court to a party, which, they foreſaw, was ſoon to govern the nation. Though the parliament had voted, that no one ſhould be elected, who had himſelf, or whoſe father had borne arms for the late king; little regard was anywhere paid to this ordinance. The leaders of the preſbyterians, the earl of Mancheſter, lord Fairfax, lord Robarts, Hollis, ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Anneſley, Lewis, were determined to atone for paſt tranſgreſſions by their preſent zeal for the royal intereſts; and from former merits, ſucceſſes, and ſufferings, they had acquired with their party the higheſt credit and authority.

The affairs of Ireland were in a condition no leſs favourable to the king. As ſoon as Monk declared againſt the Engliſh army, he deſpatched emiſſaries into Ireland, and engaged the officers in that kingdom to concur with him in the ſame meaſures. Lord Broghil, preſident of Munſter, and ſir Charles Coote, preſident of Connaught, went ſo far as to enter into a correſpondence with the king, and to promiſe their aſſiſtance for his reſtoration. In conjunction with ſir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took poſſeſſion of the government, and excluded Ludlow, who was zealous for the rump-parliament, but whom they pretended to be in a confederacy with the committee of ſafety. They kept themſelves in readineſs to ſerve the king; but made no declarations, till they ſhould ſee the turn which affairs took in England.

But all theſe promiſing views had almoſt been blaſted by an untoward accident. Upon the admiſſion of the ſecluded members, the republican party, particularly the late king's judges, were ſeized with the juſteſt deſpair, and endeavoured to infuſe the ſame ſentiments into the army. By themſelves or their emiſſaries, they repreſented to the ſoldiers, that all thoſe brave actions, which had been performed during the war, and which were ſo meritorious in the eyes of the parliament, would

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no doubt be regarded as the deepeſt crimes by the royaliſts, and would expoſe the army to the ſevereſt vengeance. That in vain did that party make profeſſions of moderation and lenity: The king's death, the execution of ſo many of the nobility and gentry, the ſequeſtration and impriſonment of the reſt, were in their eyes crimes ſo deep, and offences ſo perſonal, as muſt be proſecuted with the moſt implacable reſentment. That the loſs of all arrears, and the caſhiering of every officer and ſoldier, were the lighteſt puniſhment which muſt be expected: After the diſperſion of the army, no farther protection remained to them, either for life or property, but the clemency of enraged victors. And that, even if the moſt perfect ſecurity could be obtained, it were inglorious to be reduced, by treachery and deceit, to ſubjection under a foe, who, in the open field, had ſo often yielded to their ſuperior valour.

After theſe ſuggeſtions had been infuſed into the army, Lambert ſuddenly made his eſcape from the Tower, and threw Monk and the council of ſtate into great conſternation. They knew Lambert's vigour and activity; they were acquainted with his popularity in the army; they were ſenſible, that, though the ſoldiers had lately deſerted him, they ſufficiently expreſſed their remorſe and their deteſtation of thoſe, who, by falſe profeſſions, they found, had ſo egregiouſly deceived them. It ſeemed neceſſary, therefore, to employ the greateſt celerity in ſuppreſſing ſo dangerous a foe: Colonel Ingoldſby, who had been one of the late king's judges, but who was now entirely engaged in the royal cauſe, was deſpatched after him. (April 22.) He overtook him at Daventry, while he had yet aſſembled but four troops of horſe. One of them deſerted him. Another quickly followed the example. He himſelf, endeavouring to make his eſcape, was ſeized by Ingoldſby, to whom he made ſubmiſſions not ſuitable to his former character of ſpirit and valour. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Crede, and other officers of that party, were taken priſoners with him. All the roads were full of ſoldiers haſtening to join them. In a few days, they had been for-

formidable. And it was thought, that it might prove dangerous for Monk himſelf to have aſſembled any conſiderable body of his republican army for their ſuppreſſion: So that nothing could be more happy than the ſudden extinction of this riſing flame.

When the parliament met (April 25), they choſe ſir Harbottle Grimſtone ſpeaker, a man, who, though he had for ſome time concurred with the late parliament, had long been eſteemed affectionate to the king's ſervice. The great dangers incurred during former uſurpations, joined to the extreme caution of the general, kept every one in awe; and none dared, for ſome days, to make any mention of the king. The members exerted their ſpirit chiefly in bitter invectives againſt the memory of Cromwel, and in execrations againſt the inhuman murder of their late ſovereign. (1ſt May.) At laſt, the general, having ſufficiently ſounded their inclinations, gave directions to Anneſley, preſident of the council, to inform them, that one ſir John Granville, a ſervant of the king's, had been ſent over by his majeſty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons. The loudeſt acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Granville was called in: The letter, accompanied with a declaration, greedily read: Without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an anſwer: And in order to ſpread the ſame ſatisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration ſhould immediately be publiſhed.

The people, freed from the ſtate of ſuſpenſe in which they had ſo long been held, now changed their anxious hope for the unmixt effuſions of joy; and diſplayed a ſocial triumph and exultation, which no private proſperity, even the greateſt, is ever able fully to inſpire. Traditions remain of men, particularly of Oughtred, the mathematician, who died of pleaſure, when informed of this happy and ſurpriſing event. The king's declaration was well calculated to uphold the ſatisfaction inſpired by the proſpect of public ſettlement. It offered a general amneſty to all perſons whatſoever; and that without

without any exceptions but ſuch as ſhould afterwards be made by parliament: It promiſed liberty of conſcience; and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, ſhould be offered, for inſuring that indulgence: It ſubmitted to the arbitration of the ſame aſſembly the inquiry into all grants, purchaſes, and alienations: And it aſſured the ſoldiers of all their arrears, and promiſed them, for the future, the ſame pay which they then enjoyed.

The lords, perceiving the ſpirit by which the kingdom, as well as the commons, was animated, haſtened to reinſtate themſelves in their ancient authority, and to take their ſhare in the ſettlement of the nation. They found the doors of their houſe open; and all were admitted; even ſuch as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

(8th May.) The two houſes attended; while the king was proclaimed with great ſolemnity in Palace-Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-Bar. The commons voted 500 pounds to buy a jewel for Granville, who had brought them the king's gracious meſſages: A preſent of 50,000 pounds was conferred on the king, 10,000 pounds on the duke of York, 5000 pounds on the duke of Gloceſter. A committee of lords and commons was deſpatched to invite his majeſty to return and take poſſeſſion of the government. The rapidity with which all theſe events were conducted, was marvellous, and diſcovered the paſſionate zeal and entire unanimity of the nation. Such an impatience appeared, and ſuch an emulation, in lords, and commons, and city, who ſhould make the moſt lively expreſſions of their joy and duty; that, as the noble hiſtorian * expreſſes it, a man could not but wonder where thoſe people dwelt, who had done all the miſchief, and kept the king ſo many years from enjoying the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent ſubjects. The king himſelf ſaid, that it muſt ſurely have been his own fault that he had not ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne; ſince he found every body ſo zealous in promoting his happy reſtoration.

* Clarendon.

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The reſpect of foreign powers ſoon followed the ſubmiſſion of the king's ſubjects. Spain invited him to return to the Low Countries, and embark in ſome of her maritime towns. France made proteſtations of affection and regard, and offered Calais for the ſame purpoſe. The States-general ſent deputies with a like friendly invitation. The king reſolved to accept of this laſt offer. The people of the republic bore him a cordial affection; and politics no longer reſtrained their magiſtrates from promoting and expreſſing that ſentiment. As he paſſed from Breda to the Hague, he was attended by numerous crowds, and was received with the loudeſt acclamations; as if themſelves, not their rivals in power and commerce, were now reſtored to peace and ſecurity. The States-general in a body, and afterwards the States of Holland apart, performed their compliments with the greateſt ſolemnity: Every perſon of diſtinction was ambitious of being introduced to his majeſty; all ambaſſadors and public miniſters of kings, princes, or ſtates, repaired to him, and profeſſed the joy of their maſters in his behalf: So that one would have thought, that from the united efforts of Chriſtendom had been derived this revolution, which diffuſed every-where ſuch univerſal ſatisfaction.

The Engliſh fleet came in ſight of Scheveling. Montague had not waited for orders from the parliament; but had perſuaded the officers, of themſelves, to tender their duty to his majeſty. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command of the fleet as high admiral.

When the king diſembarked at Dover, he was met by the general, whom he cordially embraced. Never ſubject in fact, probably in his intentions, had deſerved better of his king and country. In the ſpace of a few months, without effuſion of blood, by his cautious and diſintereſted conduct alone, he had beſtowed ſettlement on three kingdoms, which had long been torn with the moſt violent convulſions: And having obſtinately refuſed the moſt inviting conditions, offered him by the king as well as by every party in the kingdom, he freely

reſtored his injured maſter to the vacant throne. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was alſo his birth-day. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two ſuch joyful periods.

AT this æra, it may be proper to ſtop a moment, and take a general ſurvey of the age, ſo far as regards manners, finances, arms, commerce, arts and ſciences. The chief uſe of hiſtory is, that it affords materials for diſquiſitions of this nature; and it ſeems the duty of an hiſtorian to point out the proper inferences and concluſions.

No people could undergo a change more ſudden and entire in their manners, than did the Engliſh nation during this period. From tranquillity, concord, ſubmiſſion, ſobriety, they paſſed in an inſtant to a ſtate of faction, fanaticiſm, rebellion, and almoſt frenzy. The violence of the Engliſh parties exceeded any thing which we can now imagine: Had they continued but a little longer, there was juſt reaſon to dread all the horrors of the ancient maſſacres and proſcriptions. The military uſurpers, whoſe authority was founded on palpable injuſtice, and was ſupported by no national party, would have been impelled by rage and deſpair into ſuch ſanguinary meaſures; and if theſe furious expedients had been employed on one ſide, revenge would naturally have puſhed the other party, after a return of power, to retaliate upon their enemies. No ſocial intercourſe was maintained between the parties; no marriages or alliances contracted. The royaliſts, though oppreſſed, haraſſed, perſecuted, diſdained all affinity with their maſters. The more they were reduced to ſubjection, the greater ſuperiority did they affect above thoſe uſurpers, who by violence and injuſtice had acquired an aſcendant over them.

The manners of the two factions were as oppoſite as thoſe of the moſt diſtant nations. "Your friends, the "Cavaliers," ſaid a parliamentarian to a royaliſt, "are

"very

"very dissolute and debauched."—"True," replied the royalist, "they have the infirmities of men: But "your friends, the Roundheads, have the vices of devils, "tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride." Riot and disorder, it is certain, notwithstanding the good example set them by Charles I. prevailed very much among his partisans. Being commonly men of birth and fortune, to whom excesses are less pernicious than to the vulgar, they were too apt to indulge themselves in all pleasures, particularly those of the table. Opposition to the rigid preciseness of their antagonists increased their inclination to good-fellowship; and the character of a man of pleasure was affected among them, as a sure pledge of attachment to the church and monarchy. Even when ruined by confiscations and sequestrations, they endeavoured to maintain the appearance of a careless and social jollity. "As much as hope is superior to fear," said a poor and merry cavalier, "so much is our situa- "tion preferable to that of our enemies. We laugh "while they tremble."

The gloomy enthusiasm which prevailed among the parliamentary party, is surely the most curious spectacle presented by any history; and the most instructive, as well as entertaining, to a philosophical mind. All recreations were in a manner suspended by the rigid severity of the presbyterians and independents. Horse-races and cock-matches were prohibited as the greatest enormities. Even bear-baiting was esteemed heathenish and unchristian: The sport of it, not the inhumanity, gave offence. Colonel Hewson, from his pious zeal, marched with his regiment into London, and destroyed all the bears, which were there kept for the diversion of the citizens. This adventure seems to have given birth to the fiction of Hudibras. Though the English nation be naturally candid and sincere, hypocrisy prevailed among them beyond any example in ancient or modern times. The religious hypocrisy, it may be remarked, is of a peculiar nature; and being generally unknown to the person himself, though more dangerous, it implies less falsehood than any other species of insincerity. The

Old Teſtament, preferably to the New, was the favourite of all the ſectaries. The eaſtern poetical ſtyle of that compoſition made it more eaſily ſuſceptible of a turn which was agreeable to them.

We have had occaſion, in the courſe of this work, to ſpeak of many of the ſects which prevailed in England: To enumerate them all would be impoſſible. The quakers, however, are ſo conſiderable, at leaſt ſo ſingular, as to merit ſome attention; and as they renounced by principle the uſe of arms, they never made ſuch a figure in public tranſactions as to enter into any part of our narrative.

The religion of the quakers, like moſt others, began with the loweſt vulgar, and, in its progreſs, came at laſt to comprehend people of better quality and faſhion. George Fox, born at Drayton, in Lancaſhire, in 1624, was the founder of this ſect. He was the ſon of a weaver, and was himſelf bound apprentice to a ſhoemaker. Feeling a ſtronger impulſe towards ſpiritual contemplations than towards that mechanical profeſſion, he left his maſter, and went about the country, clothed in a leathern doublet, a dreſs which he long affected, as well for its ſingularity as its cheapneſs. That he might wean himſelf from ſublunary objects, he broke off all connexions with his friends and family, and never dwelled a moment in one place, leſt habit ſhould beget new connexions, and depreſs the ſublimity of his aerial meditations. He frequently wandered into the woods, and paſſed whole days in hollow trees, without company, or any other amuſement than his bible. Having reached that pitch of perfection as to need no other book, he ſoon advanced to another ſtate of ſpiritual progreſs, and began to pay leſs regard even to that divine compoſition itſelf. His own breaſt, he imagined, was full of the ſame inſpiration which had guided the prophets and apoſtles themſelves; and by this inward light muſt every ſpiritual obſcurity be cleared, by this living ſpirit muſt the dead letter be animated.

When he had been ſufficiently conſecrated in his own imagination, he felt that the fumes of ſelf-applauſe ſoon diſſipate,

diſſipate, if not continually ſupplied by the admiration of others; and he began to ſeek proſelytes. Proſelytes were eaſily gained, at a time when all men's affections were turned towards religion, and when the moſt extravagant modes of it were ſure to be moſt popular. All the forms of ceremony, invented by pride and oſtentation, Fox and his diſciples, from a ſuperior pride and oſtentation, carefully rejected: Even the ordinary rites of civility were ſhunned, as the nouriſhment of carnal vanity and ſelf-conceit. They would beſtow no titles of diſtinction: The name of *friend* was the only ſalutation with which they indiſcriminately accoſted every one. To no perſon would they make a bow, or move their hat, or give any ſigns of reverence. Inſtead of that affected adulation, introduced into modern tongues, of ſpeaking to individuals as if they were a multitude, they returned to the ſimplicity of ancient languages; and *thou* and *thee* were the only expreſſions which, on any conſideration, they could be brought to employ.

Dreſs too, a material circumſtance, diſtinguiſhed the members of this ſect. Every ſuperfluity and ornament was carefully retrenched: No plaits to their coat, no buttons to their ſleeves: No lace, no ruffles, no embroidery. Even a button to the hat, though ſometimes uſeful, yet not being always ſo, was univerſally rejected by them with horror and deteſtation.

The violent enthuſiaſm of this ſect, like all high paſſions, being too ſtrong for the weak nerves to ſuſtain, threw the preachers into convulſions, and ſhakings, and diſtortions in their limbs; and they thence received the appellation of *quakers*. Amidſt the great toleration which was then granted to all ſects, and even encouragement given to all innovations, this ſect alone ſuffered perſecution. From the fervour of their zeal, the quakers broke into churches, diſturbed public worſhip, and haraſſed the miniſter and audience with railing and reproaches. When carried before a magiſtrate, they refuſed him all reverence, and treated him with the ſame familiarity as if he had been their equal. Sometimes they were thrown into mad-houſes, ſometimes into priſons:

ſons: Sometimes whipped, ſometimes pilloried. The patience and fortitude with which they ſuffered, begat compaſſion, admiration, eſteem *. A ſupernatural ſpirit was believed to ſupport them under thoſe ſufferings, which the ordinary ſtate of humanity, freed from the illuſions of paſſion, is unable to ſuſtain.

The quakers creeped into the army: But as they preached univerſal peace, they ſeduced the military zealots from their profeſſion, and would ſoon, had they been ſuffered, have put an end, without any defeat or calamity, to the dominion of the ſaints. Theſe attempts became a freſh ground of perſecution, and a new reaſon for their progreſs among the people.

Morals with this ſect were carried, or affected to be carried, to the ſame degree of extravagance as religion. Give a quaker a blow on one cheek, he held up the other: Aſk his cloak, he gave you his coat alſo: The greateſt intereſt could not engage him, in any court of judicature, to ſwear even to the truth: He never aſked more for his wares than the preciſe ſum which he was determined to accept. This laſt maxim is laudable, and continues ſtill to be religiouſly obſerved by that ſect.

No fanatics ever carried farther the hatred to ceremonies, forms, orders, rites, and poſitive inſtitutions. Even baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, by all other ſects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of chriſtianity, were diſdainfully rejected by them. The very ſabbath they profaned. The holineſs of churches they derided; and they would give to theſe ſacred edifices no

* The following ſtory is told by Whitlocke, p. 599. Some quakers at Haſington in Northumberland coming to the miniſter on the ſabbath-day, and ſpeaking to him, the people fell upon the quakers, and almoſt killed one or two of them, who going out fell on their knees, and prayed God to pardon the people, who knew not what they did; and afterwards ſpeaking to the people, ſo convinced them of the evil they had done in beating them, that the country people fell a-quarrelling, and beat one another more than they had before beaten the quakers.

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other appellation than that of *ſhops* or *ſteeple-houſes*. No prieſts were admitted in their ſect: Every one had received from immediate illumination a character much ſuperior to the ſacerdotal. When they met for divine worſhip, each roſe up in his place, and delivered the extemporary inſpirations of the Holy Ghoſt: Women alſo were admitted to teach the brethren, and were conſidered as proper vehicles to convey the dictates of the ſpirit. Sometimes a great many preachers were moved to ſpeak at once: Sometimes a total ſilence prevailed in their congregations.

Some quakers attempted to faſt forty days in imitation of Chriſt; and one of them bravely periſhed in the experiment. A female quaker came naked into the church where the protector ſat; being moved by the ſpirit, as ſhe ſaid, to appear as a *ſign* to the people. A number of them fancied, that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that clothes were to be rejected together with other ſuperfluities. The ſufferings which followed the practice of this doctrine, were a ſpecies of perſecution not well calculated for promoting it.

James Naylor was a quaker, noted for blaſphemy, or rather madneſs, in the time of the protectorſhip. He fancied that he himſelf was transformed into Chriſt, and was become the real ſaviour of the world; and in conſequence of this frenzy, he endeavoured to imitate many actions of the Meſſiah related in the evangeliſts. As he bore a reſemblance to the common pictures of Chriſt, he allowed his beard to grow in a like form: He raiſed a perſon from the dead*. He was miniſtered unto by women: He entered Briſtol mounted on a horſe; I ſuppoſe, from the difficulty in that place of finding an aſs: His diſciples ſpread their garments before him, and cried, "Hoſannah to the higheſt; holy, holy is the "Lord God of Sabbaoth." When carried before the magiſtrate, he would give no other anſwer to all queſtions than "thou haſt ſaid it." What is remarkable,

* Harleian Miſcellany, vol. vi. p. 399. One Dorcas Earſerry made oath before a magiſtrate, that ſhe had been dead two days, and that Naylor had brought her to life.

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the parliament thought that the matter deſerved their attention. Near ten days they ſpent in inquiries and debates about him. They condemned him to be pilloried, whipped, burned in the face, and to have his tongue bored through with a red-hot iron. All theſe ſeverities he bore with the uſual patience. So far his deluſion ſupported him. But the ſequel ſpoiled all. He was ſent to Bridewell, confined to hard labour, fed on bread and water, and debarred from all his diſciples, male and female. His illuſion diſſipated; and after ſome time, he was contented to come out an ordinary man, and return to his uſual occupations.

The chief taxes in England, during the time of the commonwealth, were the monthly aſſeſſments, the exciſe, and the cuſtoms. The aſſeſſments were levied on perſonal eſtates as well as on land; and commiſſioners were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The higheſt aſſeſſment amounted to 120,000 pounds a-month in England; the loweſt was 35,000. The aſſeſſments in Scotland were ſometimes 10,000 pounds a-month; commonly 6000. Thoſe on Ireland 9000. At a medium, this tax might have afforded about a million a-year. The exciſe, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, fleſh-meat, as well as beer, ale, ſtrong-waters, and many other commodities. After the king was ſubdued, bread and fleſh-meat were exempted from exciſe. The cuſtoms on exportation were lowered in 1656. In 1650, commiſſioners were appointed to levy both cuſtoms and exciſes. Cromwel in 1657 returned to the old practice of farming. Eleven hundred thouſand pounds were then offered, both for cuſtoms and exciſe, a greater ſum than had ever been levied by the commiſſioners: The whole of the taxes during that period might at a medium amount to above two millions a-year; a ſum which, though moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former king *. Sequeſtrations, compoſitions, ſale of crown and church lands, and of the lands of de-

* It appears that the late king's revenue from 1637, to the meeting of the long parliament, was only 900,000 pounds, of which 200,000 may be eſteemed illegal.

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linquents, yielded alſo conſiderable ſums, but very difficult to be eſtimated, Church lands are ſaid to have been ſold for a million. None of theſe were ever valued at above ten or eleven years purchaſe. The eſtates of delinquents amounted to above 200,000 pounds a-year. Cromwel died more than two millions in debt; though the parliament had left him in the treaſury above 500,000 pounds; and in ſtores, the value of 700,000 pounds.

The committee of danger in April 1648 voted to raiſe the army to 40,000 men. The ſame year, the pay of the army was eſtimated at 80,000 pounds a-month. The eſtabliſhment of the army in 1652, was in Scotland 15,000 foot, 2580 horſe, 560 dragoons; in England, 4700 foot, 2520 horſe, garriſons 6154. In all, 31,519, beſides officers. The army in Scotland was afterwards conſiderably reduced. The army in Ireland was not much ſhort of 20,000 men; ſo that upon the whole, the commonwealth maintained in 1652 a ſtanding army of more than 50,000 men. Its pay amounted to a yearly ſum of 1,047,715 pounds. Afterwards the protector reduced the eſtabliſhment to 30,000 men, as appears by the Inſtrument of Government and Humble Petition and Advice. His frequent enterpriſes obliged him from time to time to augment them. Richard had on foot in England an army of 13,258 men, in Scotland 9506, in Ireland about 10,000 men. The foot ſoldiers had commonly a ſhilling a-day. The horſe had two ſhillings and ſixpence; ſo that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family enliſted in the protector's cavalry. No wonder that ſuch men were averſe from the re-eſtabliſhment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they muſt be deprived of ſo gainful a profeſſion.

At the time of the battle of Worceſter, the parliament had on foot about 80,000 men, partly militia, partly regular forces. The vigour of the commonwealth, and the great capacity of thoſe members who had aſſumed the government, never at any time appeared ſo conſpicuous.

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The whole revenue of the public, during the protectorſhip of Richard, was eſtimated at 1,868,717 pounds: His annual expenſe at 2,201,540 pounds. An additional revenue was demanded from parliament.

The commerce and induſtry of England increaſed extremely during the peaceable period of Charles's reign: The trade to the Eaſt-Indies and to Guinea became conſiderable. The Engliſh poſſeſſed almoſt the ſole trade with Spain. Twenty thouſand cloths were annually ſent to Turkey. Commerce met with interruption, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulſions which afterwards prevailed; though it ſoon recovered after the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by diſtreſſing the commerce of ſo formidable a rival, ſerved to encourage trade in England: The Spaniſh war was to an equal degree pernicious. All the effects of the Engliſh merchants, to an immenſe value, were confiſcated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their ſons apprentices to merchants; and commerce has ever ſince been more honourable in England than in any other European kingdom. The excluſive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expreſly aboliſhed by any ordinance of parliament during the commonwealth; but as men payed no regard to the prerogative whence the charters of theſe companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce increaſed by the increaſe of liberty. Intereſt in 1650 was reduced to ſix per cent.

The cuſtoms in England, before the civil wars, are ſaid to have amounted to 500,000 pounds a-year: A ſum ten times greater than during the beſt period in queen Elizabeth's reign: But there is probably ſome exaggeration in this matter.

The poſt-houſe in 1653, was farmed at 10,000 pounds a-year, which was deemed a conſiderable ſum for the three kingdoms. Letters paid only about half the preſent poſtage.

From 1619 to 1638, there had been coined 6,900,042 pounds. From 1638 to 1657, the coinage amounted

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to 7,733,521 pounds. Dr. Davenant has told us, from the regiſters of the mint, that between 1558 and 1659, there had been coined 19,832,476 pounds in gold and ſilver.

The firſt mention of tea, coffee, and chocolate, is about 1660. Aſparagus, artichoaks, cauliflower, and a variety of ſalads, were about the ſame time introduced into England.

The colony of New England increaſed by means of the puritans, who fled thither, in order to free themſelves from the conſtraint which Laud and the church party had impoſed upon them; and, before the commencement of the civil wars, it is ſuppoſed to have contained 25,000 ſouls. For a like reaſon, the catholics, afterwards, who found themſelves expoſed to many hardſhips, and dreaded ſtill worſe treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and ſettled the colony of Maryland.

Before the civil wars, learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, and a good taſte began to prevail in the nation. The king loved pictures, ſometimes handled the pencil himſelf, and was a good judge of the art. The pieces of foreign maſters were bought up at a vaſt price; and the value of pictures doubled in Europe by the emulation between Charles and Philip IV. of Spain, who were touched with the ſame elegant paſſion. Vandyke was careſſed and enriched at court. Inigo Jones was maſter of the king's buildings; though afterwards perſecuted by the parliament, on account of the part which he had in rebuilding St. Paul's, and for obeying ſome orders of council, by which he was directed to pull down houſes, in order to make room for that edifice. Laws, who had not been ſurpaſſed by any muſician before him, was much beloved by the king, who called him the father of muſic. Charles was a good judge of writing, and was thought by ſome more anxious with regard to purity of ſtyle than became a monarch. Notwithſtanding his narrow revenue, and his freedom from all vanity, he lived in ſuch magnificence, that he poſſeſſed four-and-twenty palaces, all of them elegantly and completely furniſhed; inſomuch that, when he removed from

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one to another, he was not obliged to tranſport any thing along with him.

Cromwel, though himſelf a barbarian, was not inſenſible to literary merit. Uſher, notwithſtanding his being a biſhop, received a penſion from him. Marvel and Milton were in his ſervice. Waller, who was his relation, was careſſed by him. The poet always ſaid, that the protector himſelf was not ſo wholly illiterate as was commonly imagined. He gave a hundred pounds a-year to the divinity profeſſor at Oxford; and an hiſtorian mentions this bounty as an inſtance of his love of literature. He intended to have erected a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties.

Civil wars, eſpecially when founded on principles of liberty, are not commonly unfavourable to the arts of eloquence and compoſition; or rather, by preſenting nobler and more intereſting objects, they amply compenſate that tranquillity of which they bereave the muſes. The ſpeeches of the parliamentary orators during this period are of a ſtrain much ſuperior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compaſs of our tongue were then firſt put to trial. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the wretched fanaticiſm which ſo much infected the parliamentary party, was no leſs deſtructive of taſte and ſcience, than of all law and order. Gaiety and wit were proſcribed: Human learning deſpiſed: Freedom of inquiry deteſted: Cant and hypocriſy alone encouraged. It was an article poſitively inſiſted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Uxbridge, that all play-houſes ſhould for ever be aboliſhed. Sir John Davenant, ſays Whitlocke, ſpeaking of the year 1658, publiſhed an opera, notwithſtanding the nicety of the times. All the king's furniture was put to ſale: His pictures, diſpoſed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections in Europe: The cartoons, when complete, were only appraiſed at 300 pounds, though the whole collection of the king's curioſities was ſold at above 50,000. Even the royal palaces were pulled in pieces, and the materials of them ſold. The very library and medals at St. James's were intended by the generals to be

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brought to auction, in order to pay the arrears of ſome regiments of cavalry quartered near London: But Selden, apprehenſive of the loſs, engaged his friend Whitlocke, then lord-keeper for the commonwealth, to apply for the office of librarian. This expedient ſaved that valuable collection.

It is, however, remarkable, that the greateſt genius by far that ſhone out in England during this period, was deeply engaged with theſe fanatics, and even proſtituted his pen in theological controverſy, in factious diſputes, and in juſtifying the moſt violent meaſures of the party. This was John Milton, whoſe poems are admirable, though liable to ſome objections; his proſe writings diſagreeable, though not altogether defective in genius. Nor are all his poems equal: His Paradiſe Loſt, his Comus, and a few others, ſhine out amidſt ſome flat and inſipid compoſitions: Even in the Paradiſe Loſt, his capital performance, there are very long paſſages, amounting to near a third of the work, almoſt wholly deſtitute of harmony and elegance, nay, of all vigour of imagination. This natural inequality in Milton's genius was much increaſed by the inequalities in his ſubject; of which ſome parts are of themſelves the moſt lofty that can enter into human conception; others would have required the moſt laboured elegance of compoſition to ſupport them. It is certain, that this author, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble ſubject, is the moſt wonderfully ſublime of any poet in any language; Homer and Lucretius and Taſſo not excepted. More conciſe than Homer, more ſimple than Taſſo, more nervous than Lucretius; had he lived in a later age, and learned to poliſh ſome rudeneſs in his verſes; had he enjoyed better fortune, and poſſeſſed leiſure to watch the returns of genius in himſelf, he had attained the pinnacle of perfection, and borne away the palm of epic poetry.

It is well known, that Milton never enjoyed in his lifetime the reputation which he deſerved. His Paradiſe Loſt was long neglected: Prejudices againſt an apologiſt for the regicides, and againſt a work not wholly purged

from the cant of former times, kept the ignorant world from perceiving the prodigious merit of that performance. Lord Somers, by encouraging a good edition of it, about twenty years after the author's death, firſt brought it into requeſt; and Tonſon, in his dedication of a ſmaller edition, ſpeaks of it as a work juſt beginning to be known. Even during the prevalence of Milton's party, he ſeems never to have been much regarded; and Whitlocke talks of one Milton, as he calls him, a blind man, who was employed in tranſlating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. Theſe forms of expreſſion are amuſing to poſterity, who conſider how obſcure Whitlocke himſelf, though lord-keeper, and ambaſſador, and indeed a man of great abilities and merit, has become in compariſon of Milton.

It is not ſtrange that Milton received no encouragement after the reſtoration: It is more to be admired that he eſcaped with his life. Many of the cavaliers blamed extremely that lenity towards him, which was ſo honourable in the king, and ſo advantageous to poſterity. It is ſaid, that he had ſaved Davenant's life during the protectorſhip; and Davenant in return afforded him like protection after the reſtoration; being ſenſible, that men of letters ought always to regard their ſympathy of taſte as a more powerful band of union, than any difference of party or opinion as a ſource of animoſity. It was during a ſtate of poverty, blindneſs, diſgrace, danger, and old age, that Milton compoſed his wonderful poem, which not only ſurpaſſed all the performances of his cotemporaries, but all the compoſitions which had flowed from his pen, during the vigour of his age and the height of his proſperity. This circumſtance is not the leaſt remarkable of all thoſe which attend that great genius. He died in 1674, aged 66.

Waller was the firſt refiner of Engliſh poetry, at leaſt of Engliſh rhyme; but his performances ſtill abound with many faults, and, what is more material, they contain but feeble and ſuperficial beauties. Gaiety, wit, and ingenuity, are their ruling character: They aſpire not to the ſublime; ſtill leſs to the pathetic. They treat

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of love, without making us feel any tenderneſs; and abound in panegyric, without exciting admiration. The panegyric, however, on Cromwel, contains more force than we ſhould expect from the other compoſitions of this poet.

Waller was born to an ample fortune, was early introduced to the court, and lived in the beſt company. He poſſeſſed talents for eloquence as well as poetry; and till his death, which happened in a good old age, he was the delight of the houſe of commons. The errors of his life proceeded more from want of courage, than of honour or integrity. He died in 1687, aged 82.

Cowley is an author extremely corrupted by the bad taſte of his age; but, had he lived even in the pureſt times of Greece or Rome, he muſt always have been a very indifferent poet. He had no ear for harmony; and his verſes are only known to be ſuch by the rhyme, which terminates them. In his rugged untuneable numbers are conveyed ſentiments the moſt ſtrained and diſtorted; long-ſpun allegories, diſtant alluſions, and forced conceits. Great ingenuity, however, and vigour of thought, ſometimes break out amidſt thoſe unnatural conceptions: A few anacreontics ſurpriſe us by their eaſe and gaiety: His proſe writings pleaſe, by the honeſty and goodneſs which they expreſs, and even by their ſpleen and melancholy. This author was much more praiſed and admired during his lifetime, and celebrated after his death, than the great Milton. He died in 1667, aged 49.

Sir John Denham, in his Cooper's Hill (for none of his other poems merit attention), has a loftineſs and vigour, which had not before him been attained by any Engliſh poet who wrote in rhyme. The mechanical difficulties of that meaſure retarded its improvement. Shakeſpeare, whoſe tragic ſcenes are ſometimes ſo wonderfully forcible and expreſſive, is a very indifferent poet when he attempts to rhyme. Preciſion and neatneſs are chiefly wanting in Denham. He died in 1688, aged 73.

No Engliſh author in that age was more celebrated both abroad and at home, than Hobbes: In our time, he is much neglected: A lively inſtance, how precarious all reputations founded on reaſoning and philoſophy: A pleaſant comedy, which paints the manners of the age, and expoſes a faithful picture of nature, is a durable work, and is tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity. But a ſyſtem, whether phyſical or metaphyſical, commonly owes its ſucceſs to its novelty; and is no ſooner canvaſſed with impartiality than its weakneſs is diſcovered. Hobbes's politics are fitted only to promote tyranny, and his ethics to encourage licentiouſneſs. Though an enemy to religion, he partakes nothing of the ſpirit of ſcepticiſm; but is as poſitive and dogmatical as if human reaſon, and his reaſon in particular, could attain a thorough conviction in theſe ſubjects. Clearneſs and propriety of ſtyle are the chief excellencies of Hobbes's writings. In his own perſon he is repreſented to have been a man of virtue; a character nowiſe ſurpriſing, notwithſtanding his libertine ſyſtem of ethics. Timidity is the principal fault with which he is reproached: He lived to an extreme old age, yet could never reconcile himſelf to the thoughts of death. The boldneſs of his opinions and ſentiments forms a remarkable contraſt to this part of his character. He died in 1679, aged 91.

Harrington's Oceana was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary republics were the daily ſubjects of debate and converſation; and even in our time, it is juſtly admired as a work of genius and invention. The idea, however, of a perfect and immortal commonwealth will always be found as chimerical as that of a perfect and immortal man. The ſtyle of this author wants eaſe and fluency; but the good matter, which his work contains, makes compenſation. He died in 1677, aged 66.

Harvey is entitled to the glory of having made, by reaſoning alone, without any mixture of accident, a capital diſcovery in one of the moſt important branches of ſcience. He had alſo the happineſs of eſtabliſhing at once

once this theory on the moſt ſolid and convincing proofs; and poſterity has added little to the arguments ſuggeſted by his induſtry and ingenuity. His treatiſe of the circulation of the blood is farther embelliſhed by that warmth and ſpirit which ſo naturally accompany the genius of invention. This great man was much favoured by Charles I, who gave him the liberty of uſing all the deer in the royal foreſts for perfecting his diſcoveries on the generation of animals. It was remarked, that no phyſician in Europe, who had reached forty years of age, ever, to the end of his life, adopted Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood, and that his practice in London diminiſhed extremely, from the reproach drawn upon him by that great and ſignal diſcovery. So ſlow is the progreſs of truth in every ſcience, even when not oppoſed by factious or ſuperſtitious prejudices! He died in 1657, aged 79.

This age affords great materials for hiſtory; but did not produce any accompliſhed hiſtorian. Clarendon, however, will always be eſteemed an entertaining writer, even independent of our curioſity to know the facts which he relates. His ſtyle is prolix and redundant, and ſuffocates us by the length of its periods: But it diſcovers imagination and ſentiment, and pleaſes us at the ſame time that we diſapprove of it. He is more partial in appearance than in reality: For he ſeems perpetually anxious to apologiſe for the king; but his apologies are often well-grounded. He is leſs partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: He was too honeſt a man to falſify the former; his affections were eaſily capable, unknown to himſelf, of diſguiſing the latter. An air of probity and goodneſs runs through the whole work; as theſe qualities did in reality embelliſh the whole life of the author. He died in 1674, aged 66.

Theſe are the chief performances which engage the attention of poſterity. Thoſe numberleſs productions, with which the preſs then abounded; the cant of the pulpit, the declamations of party, the ſubtilties of theology, all theſe have long ago ſunk in ſilence and oblivion. Even a writer, ſuch as Selden, whoſe learning was his

chief excellency; or Chillingworth, an acute diſputant againſt the papiſts, will ſcarcely be ranked among the claſſics of our language or country.

CHAP. LXIII.

CHARLES II.

New miniſtry—Act of indemnity—Settlement of the revenue—Trial and execution of the regicides—Diſſolution of the convention—Parliament—Prelacy reſtored—Inſurrection of the Millenarians—Affairs of Scotland—Conference at the Savoy—Arguments for and againſt a comprehenſion—A new parliament—Biſhops' ſeats reſtored—Corporation act—Act of uniformity—King's marriage—Trial of Vane—and execution—Preſbyterian clergy ejected—Dunkirk ſold to the French—Declaration of indulgence—Decline of Clarendon's credit.

CHARLES II. when he aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, was thirty years of age. He poſſeſſed a vigorous conſtitution, a fine ſhape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harſh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. He was in that period of life, when there remains enough of youth to render the perſon amiable, without preventing that authority and regard which attend the years of experience and maturity. Tenderneſs was excited by the memory of his recent adverſities. His preſent proſperity was the object rather of admiration than of envy. And as the ſudden and ſurpriſing revolution, which reſtored him to his regal rights, had alſo reſtored the nation to peace, law, order, and liberty; no prince ever obtained a crown in more favourable circumſtances, or was more bleſt with the cordial affection and attachment of his ſubjects.

This popularity the king, by his whole demeanour and behaviour, was well qualified to ſupport and to increaſe.

To

CHARLES II.

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MUSEUM

To a lively wit and quick comprehenſion, he united a juſt underſtanding, and a general obſervation both of men and things. The eaſieſt manners, the moſt unaffected politeneſs, the moſt engaging gaiety, accompanied his converſation and addreſs. Accuſtomed, during his exile, to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that open affability, which was capable of reconciling the moſt determined republicans to his royal dignity. Totally devoid of reſentment, as well from the natural lenity as careleſſneſs of his temper, he inſured pardon to the moſt guilty of his enemies, and left hopes of favour to his moſt violent opponents. From the whole tenour of his actions and diſcourſe, he ſeemed deſirous of loſing the memory of paſt animoſities, and of uniting every party in an affection for their prince and their native country.

Into his council were admitted the moſt eminent men of the nation, without regard to former diſtinctions: The preſbytertans, equally with the royaliſts, ſhared this honour. Anneſley was alſo created earl of Angleſey; Aſhley Cooper, lord Aſhley; Denzil Hollis, lord Hollis. The earl of Mancheſter was appointed lord chamberlain, and lord Say, privy ſeal. Calamy and Baxter, preſbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king.

Admiral Montague, created earl of Sandwich, was entitled, from his recent ſervices, to great favour; and he obtained it. Monk, created duke of Albemarle, had performed ſuch ſignal ſervices, that, according to a vulgar and malignant obſervation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude: Yet was he ever treated by the king with great marks of diſtinction. Charles's diſpoſition, free from jealouſy; and the prudent behaviour of the general, who never over-rated his merits; prevented all thoſe diſguſts which naturally ariſe in ſo delicate a ſituation. The capacity too of Albemarle was not extenſive, and his parts were more ſolid than ſhining. Though he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in inferior ſtations, he was imagined, upon familiar acquaintance, not to be wholly equal to thoſe great achievements, which fortune,

united to prudence, had enabled him to perform; and he appeared unfit for the court, a ſcene of life to which he had never been accuſtomed. Morrice, his friend, was created ſecretary of ſtate, and was ſupported more by his patron's credit than by his own abilities or experience.

But the choice which the king at firſt made of his principal miniſters and favourites, was the circumſtance which chiefly gave contentment to the nation, and prognoſticated future happineſs and tranquillity. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime miniſter: The marquis, created duke of Ormond, was ſteward of the houſehold: The earl of Southampton, high treaſurer: Sir Edward Nicholas, ſecretary of ſtate. Theſe men, united together in friendſhip, and combining in the ſame laudable inclinations, ſupported each other's credit, and purſued the intereſts of the public.

Agreeable to the preſent proſperity of public affairs, was the univerſal joy and feſtivity diffuſed throughout the nation. The melancholy auſterity of the fanatics fell into diſcredit, together with their principles. The royaliſts, who had ever affected a contrary diſpoſition, found in their recent ſucceſs new motives for mirth and gaiety; and it now belonged to them to give repute and faſhion to their manners. From paſt experience it had ſufficiently appeared, that gravity was very diſtinct from wiſdom, formality from virtue, and hypocriſy from religion. The king himſelf, who bore a ſtrong propenſity to pleaſure, ſerved, by his powerful and engaging example, to baniſh thoſe ſour and malignant humours, which had hitherto engendered ſuch confuſion. And though the juſt bounds were undoubtedly paſſed, when men returned from their former extreme; yet was the public happy in exchanging vices, pernicious to ſociety, for diſorders, hurtful chiefly to the individuals themſelves who were guilty of them.

It required ſome time before the ſeveral parts of the ſtate, diſfigured by war and faction, could recover their former arrangement: But the parliament imme-

mediately fell into good correſpondence with the king; and they treated him with the ſame dutiful regard which had uſually been paid to his predeceſſors. Being ſummoned without the king's conſent, they received, at firſt, only the title of a convention; and it was not till he paſſed an act for that purpoſe, that they were called by the appellation of parliament. All judicial proceedings, tranſacted in the name of the commonwealth or protector, were ratified by a new law; and both houſes, acknowledging the guilt of the former rebellion, gratefully received, in their own name, and in that of all the ſubjects, his majeſty's gracious pardon and indemnity.

The king, before his reſtoration, being afraid of reducing any of his enemies to deſpair, and at the ſame time unwilling that ſuch enormous crimes as had been committed, ſhould receive a total impunity, had expreſſed himſelf very cautiouſly in his declaration of Breda, and had promiſed an indemnity to all criminals but ſuch as ſhould be excepted by parliament. He now iſſued a proclamation, declaring that ſuch of the late king's judges as did not yield themſelves priſoners within fourteen days ſhould receive no pardon. Nineteen ſurrendered themſelves: Some were taken in their flight: Others eſcaped beyond ſea.

The commons ſeem to have been more inclined to lenity than the lords. The upper houſe, inflamed by the ill uſage which they had received, were reſolved, beſides the late king's judges, to except every one who had ſitten in any high court of juſtice. Nay, the earl of Briſtol moved, that no pardon might be granted to thoſe who had any-wiſe contributed to the king's death. So wide an exception, in which every one who had ſerved the parliament might be comprehended, gave a general alarm; and men began to apprehend, that this motion was the effect of ſome court artifice or intrigue. But the king ſoon diſſipated theſe fears. He came to the houſe of peers; and, in the moſt earneſt terms, paſſed the act of general indemnity. He urged both the neceſſity of the thing, and the obligation of his former promiſe:

promiſe: A promiſe, he ſaid, which he would ever regard as ſacred; ſince to it he probably owed the ſatiſfaction, which at preſent he enjoyed, of meeting his people in parliament. This meaſure of the king's was received with great applauſe and ſatisfaction.

After repeated ſolicitations, the act of indemnity paſſed both houſes, and ſoon received the royal aſſent. Thoſe who had an immediate hand in the late king's death, were there excepted: Even Cromwel, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and others now dead, were attainted, and their eſtates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though none of the regicides, were alſo excepted. St. John and ſeventeen perſons more were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had ſitten in any illegal high court of juſtice were diſabled from bearing offices. Theſe were all the ſeverities which followed ſuch furious civil wars and convulſions.

The next buſineſs was the ſettlement of the king's revenue. In this work, the parliament had regard to public freedom, as well as to the ſupport of the crown. The tenures of wards and liveries had long been regarded as a grievous burden by the nobility and gentry: Several attempts had been made during the reign of James to purchaſe this prerogative, together with that of purveyance; and 200,000 pounds a-year had been offered that prince in lieu of them: Wardſhips and purveyance had been utterly aboliſhed by the republican parliament: And even in the preſent parliament, before the king arrived in England, a bill had been introduced, offering him a compenſation for the emolument of theſe prerogatives. A hundred thouſand pounds a-year was the ſum agreed to; and half of the exciſe was ſettled in perpetuity upon the crown as the fund whence this revenue ſhould be levied. Though that impoſt yielded more profit, the bargain might be eſteemed hard; and it was chiefly the neceſſity of the king's ſituation, which induced him to conſent to it. No requeſt of the parliament, during the preſent joy, could be refuſed them.

Tonnage

Tonnage and poundage and the other half of the excise were granted to the king during life. The parliament even proceeded so far as to vote that the settled revenue of the crown for all charges should be 1,200,000 pounds a-year; a sum greater than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed. But as all the princes of Europe were perpetually augmenting their military force, and consequently their expense, it became requisite that England, from motives both of honour and security, should bear some proportion to them, and adapt its revenue to the new system of politics which prevailed. According to the chancellor's computation, a charge of 800,000 pounds a-year was at present requisite for the fleet and other articles, which formerly cost the crown but eighty thousand.

Had the parliament, before restoring the king, insisted on any farther limitations than those which the constitution already imposed; besides the danger of reviving former quarrels among parties; it would seem, that their precaution had been entirely superfluous. By reason of its slender and precarious revenue, the crown in effect was still totally dependant. Not a fourth part of this sum, which seemed requisite for public expenses, could be levied without consent of parliament; and any concessions, had they been thought necessary, might, even after the restoration, be extorted by the commons from their necessitous prince. This parliament showed no intention of employing at present that engine to any such purposes; but they seemed still determined not to part with it entirely, or to render the revenues of the crown fixed and independent. Though they voted in general, that 1,200,000 pounds a-year should be settled on the king, they scarcely assigned any funds which could yield two-thirds of that sum. And they left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future consideration of parliament.

In all the temporary supplies which they voted, they discovered the same cautious frugality. To disband the army, so formidable in itself, and so much accustomed to rebellion and changes of government, was necessary for

the ſecurity both of king and parliament; yet the commons ſhowed great jealouſy in granting the ſums requiſite for that end. An aſſeſſment of 70,000 pounds a-month was impoſed; but it was at firſt voted to continue only three months: And all the other ſums, which they levied for that purpoſe, by a poll-bill and new aſſeſſments, were ſtill granted by parcels; as if they were not, as yet, well aſſured of the fidelity of the hand to which the money was entruſted. Having proceeded ſo far in the ſettlement of the nation, the parliament adjourned itſelf for ſome time.

During the receſs of parliament, the object, which chiefly intereſted the public, was the trial and condemnation of the regicides. The general indignation, attending the enormous crime of which theſe men had been guilty, made their ſufferings the ſubject of joy to the people: But in the peculiar circumſtances of that action, in the prejudices of the times, as well as in the behaviour of the criminals, a mind, ſeaſoned with humanity, will find a plentiful ſource of compaſſion and indulgence. Can any one, without concern for human blindneſs and ignorance, conſider the demeanour of general Harriſon, who was firſt brought to his trial? With great courage and elevation of ſentiment, he told the court, that the pretended crime, of which he ſtood accuſed, was not a deed performed in a corner: The ſound of it had gone forth to moſt nations; and in the ſingular and marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appeared the ſovereign power of heaven. That he himſelf, agitated by doubts, had often, with paſſionate tears, offered up his addreſſes to the divine Majeſty, and earneſtly ſought for light and conviction: He had ſtill received aſſurance of a heavenly ſanction, and returned from theſe devout ſupplications with more ſerene tranquillity and ſatisfaction. That all the nations of the earth were, in the eyes of their Creator, leſs than a drop of water in the bucket; nor were their erroneous judgments aught but darkneſs, compared with divine illuminations. That theſe frequent illapſes of the divine ſpirit he could not ſuſpect to be intereſted illuſions; ſince he was conſcious, that, for no temporal advantage, would

would he offer injury to the pooreſt man or woman that trod upon the earth. That all the allurements of ambition, all the terrors of impriſonment, had not been able, during the uſurpation of Cromwel, to ſhake his ſteady reſolution, or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant. And that when invited by him to ſit on the right hand of the throne, when offered riches and ſplendour and dominion, he had diſdainfully rejected all temptations; and neglecting the tears of his friends and family, had ſtill, through every danger, held faſt his principles and his integrity.

Scot, who was more a republican than a fanatic, had ſaid in the houſe of commons, a little before the reſtoration, that he deſired no other epitaph to be inſcribed on his tomb-ſtone than this; *Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged the king to death.* He ſupported the ſame ſpirit upon his trial.

Carew, a Millenarian, ſubmitted to his trial, *ſaving to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt his right to the government of theſe kingdoms.* Some ſcrupled to ſay according to form, that they would be tried by God and their country; becauſe God was not viſibly preſent to judge them. Others ſaid, that they would be tried by the word of God.

No more than ſix of the late king's judges, Harriſon, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope, were executed: Scrope alone, of all thoſe who came in upon the king's proclamation. He was a gentleman of good family and of a decent character: But it was proved, that he had a little before, in converſation, expreſſed himſelf as if he were nowiſe convinced of any guilt in condemning the king. Axtel, who had guarded the high court of juſtice, Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution, Coke, the ſolicitor for the people of England, and Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher, who inflamed the army and impelled them to regicide: All theſe were tried, and condemned, and ſuffered with the king's judges. No ſaint or confeſſor ever went to martyrdom with more aſſured confidence of heaven than was expreſſed by thoſe criminals, even when the terrors of immediate death, joined to many indignities, were ſet

before them. The reſt of the king's judges, by an unexampled lenity, were reprieved; and they were diſperſed into ſeveral priſons.

This puniſhment of declared enemies interrupted not the rejoicings of the court: But the death of the duke of Gloceſter *, a young prince of promiſing hopes, threw a great cloud upon them. The king, by no incident in his life, was ever ſo deeply affected. Gloceſter was obſerved to poſſeſs united the good qualities of both his brothers: The clear judgment and penetration of the king; the induſtry and application of the duke of York. He was alſo believed to be affectionate to the religion and conſtitution of his country. He was but twenty years of age, when the ſmall-pox put an end to his life.

The princeſs of Orange having come to England, in order to partake of the joy attending the reſtoration of her family, with whom ſhe lived in great friendſhip, ſoon after ſickened and died. The queen-mother payed a viſit to her ſon; and obtained his conſent to the marriage of the princeſs Henrietta, with the duke of Orleans, brother to the French king.

(Nov. 6.) After a receſs of near two months, the parliament met, and proceeded in the great work of the national ſettlement. They eſtabliſhed the poſt-office, wine licences, and ſome articles of the revenue. They granted more aſſeſſments, and ſome arrears, for paying and diſbanding the army. Buſineſs being carried on with great unanimity, was ſoon deſpatched: And after they had ſitten near two months, the king, in a ſpeech full of the moſt gracious expreſſions, thought proper to diſſolve them †.

This houſe of commons had been choſen during the reign of the old parliamentary party; and though many royaliſts had creeped in amongſt them, yet did it chiefly conſiſt of preſbyterians, who had not yet entirely laid aſide their old jealouſies and principles. Lenthal, a member, having ſaid, that thoſe who firſt took arms againſt the king, were as guilty as thoſe who afterwards brought

* 13th September. † 29th December.

him

him to the ſcaffold, was ſeverely reprimanded by order of the houſe; and the moſt violent efforts of the long parliament, to ſecure the conſtitution, and bring delinquents to juſtice, were in effect vindicated and applauded. The claim of the two houſes to the militia, the firſt ground of the quarrel, however exorbitant an uſurpation, was never expreſly reſigned by this parliament. They made all grants of money with a very ſparing hand. Great arrears being due by the protector, to the fleet, the army, the navy-office, and every branch of ſervice; this whole debt they threw upon the crown, without eſtabliſhing funds ſufficient for its payment. Yet notwithſtanding this jealous care, expreſſed by the parliament, there prevails a ſtory, that Popham, having ſounded the diſpoſition of the members, undertook to the earl of Southampton to procure, during the king's life, a grant of two millions a-year, land tax; a ſum which, added to the cuſtoms and exciſe, would for ever have rendered this prince independent of his people. Southampton, it is ſaid, merely from his affection to the king, had unwarily embraced the offer; and it was not till he communicated the matter to the chancellor, that he was made ſenſible of its pernicious tendency. It is not improbable, that ſuch an offer might have been made, and been hearkened to; but it is nowiſe probable that all the intereſt of the court would ever, with this houſe of commons, have been able to make it effectual. Clarendon ſhowed his prudence, no leſs than his integrity, in entirely rejecting it.

The chancellor, from the ſame principles of conduct, haſtened to diſband the army. When the king reviewed theſe veteran troops, he was ſtruck with their beauty, order, diſcipline, and martial appearance; and being ſenſible, that regular forces are moſt neceſſary implements of royalty, he expreſſed a deſire of finding expedients ſtill to retain them. But his wiſe miniſter ſet before him the dangerous ſpirit by which theſe troops were actuated, their enthuſiaſtic genius, their habits of rebellion and mutiny; and he convinced the king, that, till they were diſbanded, he never could eſteem himſelf ſecurely eſta-

bliſhed on his throne. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garriſons, about 1000 horſe, and 4000 foot. This was the firſt appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular ſtanding army in this iſland. Lord Mordaunt ſaid, that the king, being poſſeſſed of that force, might now look upon himſelf as the moſt conſiderable gentleman in England *. The fortifications of Gloceſter, Taunton, and other towns, which had made reſiſtance to the king during the civil wars, were demoliſhed.

Clarendon not only behaved with wiſdom and juſtice in the office of chancellor: All the counſels, which he gave the king, tended equally to promote the intereſt of prince and people. Charles, accuſtomed in his exile to pay entire deference to the judgment of this faithful ſervant, continued ſtill to ſubmit to his direction; and for ſome time no miniſter was ever poſſeſſed of more abſolute authority. He moderated the forward zeal of the royaliſts, and tempered their appetite for revenge. With the oppoſite party, he endeavoured to preſerve inviolate all the king's engagements: He kept an exact regiſter of the promiſes which had been made for any ſervice, and he employed all his induſtry to fulfil them. This good miniſter was now nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Ann Hyde, a woman of ſpirit and fine accompliſhments, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addreſſes of the duke of York, and, under promiſe of marriage, had ſecretly admitted him to her bed. Her pregnancy appeared ſoon after the reſtoration; and though many endeavoured to diſſuade the king from conſenting to ſo unequal an alliance, Charles, in pity to his friend and miniſter, who had been ignorant of theſe engagements, permitted his brother to marry her. Clarendon expreſſed great uneaſineſs at the honour which he had obtained; and ſaid, that, by being elevated ſo much

* King James's Memoirs. This prince ſays, that Venner's inſurrection furniſhed a reaſon or pretence for keeping up the guards, which were intended at firſt to have been diſbanded with the reſt of the army.

above

above his rank, he thence dreaded a more ſudden downfal.

Moſt circumſtances of Clarendon's adminiſtration have met with applauſe: His maxims alone in the conduct of eccleſiaſtical politics have by many been deemed the effect of prejudices narrow and bigotted. Had the jealouſy of royal power prevailed ſo far with the convention parliament, as to make them reſtore the king with ſtrict limitations, there is no queſtion but the eſtabliſhment of preſbyterian diſcipline had been one of the conditions moſt rigidly inſiſted on. Not only that form of eccleſiaſtical government is more favourable to liberty than to royal power: It was likewiſe, on its own account, agreeable to the majority of the houſe of commons, and ſuited their religious principles. But as the impatience of the people, the danger of delay, the general diſguſt towards faction, and the authority of Monk, had prevailed over that jealous project of limitations, the full ſettlement of the hierarchy, together with the monarchy, was a neceſſary and infallible conſequence. All the royaliſts were zealous for that mode of religion; the merits of the epiſcopal clergy towards the king, as well as their ſufferings on that account, had been great; the laws which eſtabliſhed biſhops and the liturgy were as yet unrepealed by legal authority; and any attempt of the parliament, by new acts, to give the ſuperiority to preſbyterianiſm, had been ſufficient to involve the nation again in blood and confuſion. Moved by theſe views, the commons had wiſely poſtponed the examination of all religious controverſy, and had left the ſettlement of the church to the king and to the ancient laws.

The king at firſt uſed great moderation in the execution of the laws. Nine biſhops ſtill remained alive; and theſe were immediately reſtored to their ſees: All the ejected clergy recovered their livings: The liturgy, a form of worſhip decent, and not without beauty, was again admitted into the churches: But, at the ſame time, a declaration was iſſued, in order to give contentment to the preſbyterians, and preſerve an air of moderation and neutrality. In this declaration, the king

promiſed that he would provide ſuffragan biſhops for the larger dioceſes; that the prelates ſhould, all of them, be regular and conſtant preachers; that they ſhould not confer ordination, or exerciſe any juriſdiction, without the advice and aſſiſtance of preſbyters, choſen by the dioceſe; that ſuch alterations ſhould be made in the liturgy as would render it totally unexceptionable; that, in the mean time, the uſe of that mode of worſhip ſhould not be impoſed on ſuch as were unwilling to receive it; and that the ſurplice, the croſs in baptiſm, and bowing at the name of Jeſus, ſhould not be rigidly inſiſted on. This declaration was iſſued by the king as head of the church; and he plainly aſſumed, in many parts of it, a legiſlative authority in eccleſiaſtical matters. But the Engliſh government, though more exactly defined by late conteſts, was not as yet reduced, in every particular, to the ſtrict limits of law. And if ever prerogative was juſtifiably employed, it ſeemed to be on the preſent occaſion, when all parts of the ſtate were torn with paſt convulſions, and required the moderating hand of the chief magiſtrate to reduce them to their ancient order.

But though theſe appearances of neutrality were maintained, and a mitigated epiſcopacy only ſeemed to be inſiſted on, it was far from the intention of the miniſtry always to preſerve like regard to the preſbyterians. The madneſs of the fifth-monarchy-men afforded them a pretence for departing from it. Venner, a deſperate enthuſiaſt, who had often conſpired againſt Cromwel, having, by his zealous lectures, inflamed his own imagination and that of his followers, iſſued forth at their head into the ſtreets of London. They were to the number of ſixty, completely armed, believed themſelves invulnerable and invincible, and firmly expected the ſame ſucceſs which had attended Gideon and other heroes of the Old Teſtament. Every one at firſt fled before them. One unhappy man, who, being queſtioned, ſaid, "He was "for God and King Charles," was inſtantly murdered by them. They went triumphantly from ſtreet to ſtreet, every-where proclaiming king Jeſus, who, they ſaid, was their inviſible leader. At length the magiſtrates, having aſſembled

assembled some train-bands, made an attack upon them. They defended themselves with order, as well as valour; and, after killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane-Wood, near Hampstead. Next morning they were chased thence by a detachment of the guards; but they ventured again to invade the city, which was not prepared to receive them. After committing great disorder, and traversing almost every street of that immense capital, they retired into a house, which they were resolute to defend to the last extremity. Being surrounded, and the house untiled, they were fired upon from every side; and they still refused quarter. The people rushed in upon them, and seized the few who were alive. These were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they persisted in affirming, that, if they were deceived, it was the Lord that had deceived them.

Clarendon and the ministry took occasion, from this insurrection, to infer the dangerous spirit of the presbyterians, and of all the sectaries: But the madness of the attempt sufficiently proved, that it had been undertaken by no concert, and never could have proved dangerous. The well-known hatred, too, which prevailed between the presbyterians and the other sects, should have removed the former from all suspicion of any concurrence in the enterprise. But as a pretence was wanted, besides their old demerits, for justifying the intended rigours against all of them, this reason, however slight, was greedily laid hold of.

Affairs in Scotland hastened with still quicker steps than those in England towards a settlement and a compliance with the king. It was deliberated in the English council, whether that nation should be restored to its liberty, or whether the forts erected by Cromwel should not still be upheld, in order to curb the mutinous spirit by which the Scots in all ages had been so much governed. Lauderdale, who, from the battle of Worcester to the restoration, had been detained prisoner in the Tower, had considerable influence with the king; and he strenuously opposed this violent measure. He represented,

ſented, that it was the loyalty of the Scottiſh nation which had engaged them in an oppoſition to the Engliſh rebels; and to take advantage of the calamities into which, on that account, they had fallen, would be regarded as the higheſt injuſtice and ingratitude: That the ſpirit of that people was now fully ſubdued by the ſervitude under which the uſurpers had ſo long held them, and would of itſelf yield to any reaſonable compliance with their legal ſovereign, if, by this means, they recovered their liberty and independence: That the attachment of the Scots towards the king, whom they regarded as their native prince, was naturally much ſtronger than that of the Engliſh; and would afford him a ſure reſource, in caſe of any rebellion among the latter: That republican principles had long been, and ſtill were, very prevalent with his ſouthern ſubjects, and might again menace the throne with new tumults and reſiſtance: That the time would probably come, when the king, inſtead of deſiring to ſee Engliſh garriſons in Scotland, would be better pleaſed to have Scottiſh garriſons in England, who, ſupported by Engliſh pay, would be found to curb the ſeditious genius of that opulent nation: And that a people, ſuch as the Scots, governed by a few nobility, would more eaſily be reduced to ſubmiſſion under monarchy, than one like the Engliſh, who breathed nothing but the ſpirit of democratical equality.

(1661, 1ſt Jan.) Theſe views induced the king to diſband all the forces in Scotland, and to raze all the forts which had been erected. General Middleton, created earl of that name, was ſent commiſſioner to the parliament, which was ſummoned. A very compliant ſpirit was there diſcovered in all orders of men. The commiſſioner had even ſufficient influence to obtain an act, annulling, at once, all laws which had paſſed ſince the year 1633, on pretext of the violence which, during that time, had been employed againſt the king and his father, in order to procure their aſſent to theſe ſtatutes. This was a very large, if not an unexampled conceſſion; and, together with many dangerous limitations, overthrew ſome uſeful barriers which had been erected to the conſti-

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tution. But the tide was now running ſtrongly towards monarchy; and the Scottiſh nation plainly diſcovered, that their paſt reſiſtance had proceeded more from the turbulence of their ariſtocracy, and the bigotry of their eccleſiaſtics, than from any fixed paſſion towards civil liberty. The lords of articles were reſtored, with ſome other branches of prerogative; and royal authority, fortified with more plauſible claims and pretences, was, in its full extent, re-eſtabliſhed in that kingdom.

The prelacy likewiſe, by the abrogating of every ſtatute enacted in favour of preſbytery, was thereby tacitly reſtored; and the king deliberated what uſe he ſhould make of this conceſſion. Lauderdale, who at bottom was a paſſionate zealot againſt epiſcopacy, endeavoured to perſuade him, that the Scots, if gratified in this favourite point of eccleſiaſtical government, would, in every other demand, be entirely compliant with the king. Charles, though he had no ſuch attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had ſuffered ſuch indignities from the Scottiſh preſbyterians, that he ever after bore them a hearty averſion. He ſaid to Lauderdale, that preſbyterianiſm, he thought, was not a religion for a gentleman; and he could not conſent to its farther continuance in Scotland. Middleton too and his other miniſters perſuaded him, that the nation in general was ſo diſguſted with the violence and tyranny of the eccleſiaſtics, that any alteration of church government would be univerſally grateful. And Clarendon, as well as Ormond, dreading that the preſbyterian ſect, if legally eſtabliſhed in Scotland, would acquire authority in England and Ireland, ſeconded the application of theſe miniſters. The reſolution was therefore taken to reſtore prelacy; a meaſure afterwards attended with many and great inconveniencies: But whether in this reſolution Charles choſe not the leſſer evil, it is very difficult to determine. Sharp, who had been commiſſioned by the preſbyterians in Scotland to manage their intereſts with the king, was perſuaded to abandon that party; and, as a reward for his compliance, was created archbiſhop of St. Andrews. The conduct of eccleſiaſtical affairs was chiefly

chiefly entruſted to him; and as he was eſteemed a traitor and a renegade by his old friends, he became on that account, as well as from the violence of his conduct, extremely obnoxious to them.

Charles had not promiſed to Scotland any ſuch indemnity as he had enſured to England by the declaration of Breda: And it was deemed more political for him to hold over men's heads, for ſome time, the terror of puniſhment, till they ſhould have made the requiſite compliances with the new government. Though neither the king's temper nor plan of adminiſtration led him to ſeverity, ſome examples, after ſuch a bloody and triumphant rebellion, ſeemed neceſſary; and the marquis of Argyle, and one Guthry, were pitched on as the victims. Two acts of indemnity, one paſſed by the late king in 1641, another by the preſent in 1651, formed, it was thought, invincible obſtacles to the puniſhment of Argyle; and barred all inquiry into that part of his conduct which might juſtly be regarded as the moſt exceptionable. Nothing remained but to try him for his compliance with the uſurpation; a crime common to him with the whole nation, and ſuch a one as the moſt loyal and affectionate ſubject might frequently by violence be obliged to commit. To make this compliance appear the more voluntary and hearty, there were produced in court, letters which he had written to Albemarle, while that general commanded in Scotland, and which contained expreſſions of the moſt cordial attachment to the eſtabliſhed government. But beſides the general indignation excited by Albemarle's diſcovery of this private correſpondence, men thought, that even the higheſt demonſtrations of affection might, during jealous times, be exacted as a neceſſary mark of compliance from a perſon of ſuch diſtinction as Argyle, and could not, by any equitable conſtruction, imply the crime of treaſon. The parliament, however, ſcrupled not to paſs ſentence upon him; and he died with great conſtancy and courage. As he was univerſally known to have been the chief inſtrument of the paſt diſorders and civil wars, the irregularity of his ſentence, and ſeveral iniquitous circumſtances in the method

thod of conducting his trial, seemed, on that account, to admit of some apology. Lord Lorne, son of Argyle, having ever preserved his loyalty, obtained a gift of the forfeiture. Guthry was a seditious preacher, and had personally affronted the king: His punishment gave surprise to nobody. Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston was attainted and fled; but was seized in France about two years after, brought over, and executed. He had been very active during all the late disorders, and was even suspected of a secret correspondence with the English regicides.

Besides these instances of compliance in the Scottish parliament, they voted an additional revenue to the king, of 40,000 pounds a-year, to be levied by way of excise. A small force was purposed to be maintained by this revenue, in order to prevent like confusions with those to which the kingdom had been hitherto exposed. An act was also passed, declaring the covenant unlawful, and its obligation void and null.

In England, the civil distinctions seemed to be abolished by the lenity and equality of Charles's administration. Cavalier and Round-head were heard of no more: All men seemed to concur in submitting to the king's lawful prerogatives, and in cherishing the just privileges of the people and of parliament. Theological controversy alone still subsisted, and kept alive some sparks of that flame which had thrown the nation into combustion. While catholics, independents, and other sectaries, were content with entertaining some prospect of toleration; prelacy and presbytery struggled for the superiority, and the hopes and fears of both parties kept them in agitation. (25th March.) A conference was held in the Savoy between twelve bishops and twelve leaders among the presbyterian ministers, with an intention, at least on pretence, of bringing about an accommodation between the parties. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the kneeling at the sacrament, the bowing at the name of Jesus, were anew canvassed; and the ignorant multitude were in hopes that so many men of gravity and learning could not fail, after deliberate argumentation, to agree

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in all points of controverſy: They were ſurpriſed to ſee them ſeparate more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their ſeveral prejudices. To enter into particulars would be ſuperfluous. Diſputes concerning religious forms are, in themſelves, the moſt frivolous of any; and merit attention only ſo far as they have influence on the peace and order of civil ſociety.

The king's declaration had promiſed, that ſome endeavour ſhould be uſed to effect a comprehenſion of both parties; and Charles's own indifference with regard to all ſuch queſtions ſeemed a favourable circumſtance for the execution of that project. The partiſans of a comprehenſion ſaid, that the preſbyterians, as well as the prelatiſts, having felt by experience the fatal effects of obſtinacy and violence, were now well diſpoſed towards an amicable agreement: That the biſhops, by relinquiſhing ſome part of their authority, and diſpenſing with the moſt exceptionable ceremonies, would ſo gratify their adverſaries as to obtain their cordial and affectionate compliance, and unite the whole nation in one faith and one worſhip: That by obſtinately inſiſting on forms, in themſelves inſignificant, an air of importance was beſtowed on them, and men were taught to continue equally obſtinate in rejecting them: That the preſbyterian clergy would go every reaſonable length, rather than, by parting with their livings, expoſe themſelves to a ſtate of beggary, at beſt of dependance: And that if their pride were flattered by ſome ſeeming alterations, and a pretence given them for affirming that they had not abandoned their former principles, nothing farther was wanting to produce a thorough union between thoſe two parties, which comprehended the bulk of the nation.

It was alleged on the other hand, that the difference between religious ſects was founded, not on principle, but on paſſion; and till the irregular affections of men could be corrected, it was in vain to expect, by compliances, to obtain a perfect unanimity and comprehenſion: That the more inſignificant the objects of diſpute appeared, with the more certainty might it be inferred,

inferred, that the real ground of diſſenſion was different from that which was univerſally pretended: That the love of novelty, the pride of argumentation, the pleaſure of making proſelytes, and the obſtinacy of contradiction, would for ever give riſe to ſects and diſputes; nor was it poſſible that ſuch a ſource of diſſenſion could ever, by any conceſſions, be entirely exhauſted: That the church, by departing from ancient practices and principles, would tacitly acknowledge herſelf guilty of error, and loſe that reverence, ſo requiſite for preſerving the attachment of the multitude: And that if the preſent conceſſions (which was more than probable) ſhould prove ineffectual, greater muſt ſtill be made; and in the iſſue, diſcipline would be deſpoiled of all its authority, and worſhip of all its decency, without obtaining that end which had been ſo fondly ſought for by theſe dangerous indulgences.

The miniſtry were inclined to give the preference to the latter arguments; and were the more confirmed in that intention by the diſpoſition which appeared in the parliament lately aſſembled. The royaliſts and zealous churchmen were at preſent the popular party in the nation, and, ſeconded by the efforts of the court, had prevailed in moſt elections. (8th May.) Not more than fifty-ſix members of the preſbyterian party had obtained ſeats in the lower houſe; and theſe were not able either to oppoſe or retard the meaſures of the majority. Monarchy, therefore, and epiſcopacy, were now exalted to as great power and ſplendour as they had lately ſuffered miſery and depreſſion. Sir Edward Turner was choſen ſpeaker.

An act was paſſed for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government. To intend or deviſe the king's impriſonment, or bodily harm, or depoſition, or levying war againſt him, was declared, during the lifetime of his preſent majeſty, to be high treaſon. To affirm him to be a papiſt or heretic, or to endeavour by ſpeech or writing to alienate his ſubjects' affections from him; theſe offences were made ſufficient to incapacitate the perſon guilty from holding any employment in church

or ſtate. To maintain that the long parliament is not diſſolved, or that either or both houſes, without the king, are poſſeſſed of legiſlative authority, or that the covenant is binding, was made puniſhable by the penalty of premunire.

The covenant itſelf, together with the act for erecting the high court of juſtice, that for ſubſcribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a commonwealth, were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. The people aſſiſted with great alacrity on this occaſion.

The abuſes of petitioning in the preceding reign had been attended with the worſt conſequences; and to prevent ſuch irregular practices for the future, it was enacted, that no more than twenty hands ſhould be fixed to any petition, unleſs with the ſanction of three juſtices, or the major part of the grand jury; and that no petition ſhould be preſented to the king or either houſe by above ten perſons. The penalty annexed to a tranſgreſſion of this law was a fine of a hundred pounds and three months imprisonment.

The biſhops, though reſtored to their ſpiritual authority, were ſtill excluded from parliament by the law which the late king had paſſed immediately before the commencement of the civil diſorders. Great violence, both againſt the king and the houſe of peers, had been employed in paſſing this law; and on that account alone, the partiſans of the church were provided with a plauſible pretence for repealing it. Charles expreſſed much ſatisfaction, when he gave his aſſent to the act for that purpoſe. It is certain, that the authority of the crown, as well as that of the church, was intereſted in reſtoring the prelates to their former dignity. But thoſe who deemed every acquiſition of the prince a detriment to the people, were apt to complain of this inſtance of complaiſance in the parliament.

(20th Nov.) After an adjournment of ſome months, the parliament was again aſſembled, and proceeded in the ſame ſpirit as before. They diſcovered no deſign of reſtoring, in its full extent, the ancient prerogative of the

the crown: They were only anxious to repair all thoſe breaches, which had been made, not by the love of liberty, but by the fury of faction and civil war. The power of the ſword had, in all ages, been allowed to be veſted in the crown; and though no law conferred this prerogative, every parliament, till the laſt of the preceding reign, had willingly ſubmitted to an authority more ancient, and therefore more ſacred, than that of any poſitive ſtatute. It was now thought proper ſolemnly to relinquiſh the violent pretenſions of that parliament, and to acknowledge, that neither one houſe, nor both houſes, independent of the king, were poſſeſſed of any military authority. The preamble to this ſtatute went ſo far as to renounce all right even of *defenſive* arms againſt the king; and much obſervation has been made with regard to a conceſſion eſteemed ſo ſingular. Were theſe terms taken in their full literal ſenſe, they imply a total renunciation of limitations to monarchy, and of all privileges in the ſubject, independent of the will of the ſovereign. For as no rights can ſubſiſt without ſome remedy, ſtill leſs rights expoſed to ſo much invaſion from tyranny, or even from ambition; if ſubjects muſt never reſiſt, it follows, that every prince, without any effort, policy, or violence, is at once rendered abſolute and uncontrollable: The ſovereign needs only iſſue an edict, aboliſhing every authority but his own; and all liberty, from that moment, is in effect annihilated. But this meaning it was abſurd to impute to the preſent parliament, who, though zealous royaliſts, ſhowed in their meaſures, that they had not caſt off all regard to national privileges. They were probably ſenſible, that to ſuppoſe in the ſovereign any ſuch invaſion of public liberty is entirely unconſtitutional; and that therefore expreſly to reſerve, upon that event, any right of reſiſtance in the ſubject muſt be liable to the ſame objection. They had ſeen that the long parliament, under colour of defence, had begun a violent attack upon kingly power; and, after involving the kingdom in blood, had finally loſt that liberty for which they had ſo imprudently contended. They thought, perhaps erroneouſly, that it was

no longer poſſible, after ſuch public and ſuch exorbitant pretenſions, to perſevere in that prudent ſilence hitherto maintained by the laws; and that it was neceſſary, by ſome poſitive declaration, to bar the return of like inconveniencies. When they excluded, therefore, the right of defence, they ſuppoſed, that the conſtitution remaining firm upon its baſis, there never really could be an attack made by the ſovereign. If ſuch an attack was at any time made, the neceſſity was then extreme: And the caſe of extreme and violent neceſſity, no laws, they thought, could comprehend; becauſe to ſuch a neceſſity no laws could beforehand point out a proper remedy.

The other meaſures of this parliament ſtill diſcovered a more anxious care to guard againſt rebellion in the ſubject than encroachments in the crown: The recent evils of civil war and uſurpation had naturally increaſed the ſpirit of ſubmiſſion to the monarch, and had thrown the nation into that dangerous extreme. During the violent and jealous government of the parliament and of the protectors, all magiſtrates, liable to ſuſpicion, had been expelled the corporations; and none had been admitted, who gave not proofs of affection to the ruling powers, or who refuſed to ſubſcribe the covenant. To leave all authority in ſuch hands ſeemed dangerous; and the parliament, therefore, empowered the king to appoint commiſſioners for regulating the corporations, and expelling ſuch magiſtrates as either intruded themſelves by violence, or profeſſed principles dangerous to the conſtitution, civil and eccleſiaſtical. It was alſo enacted, that all magiſtrates ſhould diſclaim the obligation of the covenant, and ſhould declare, both their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to reſiſt the king, and their abhorrence of the traiterous poſition of taking arms by the king's authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe who were commiſſioned by him.

(1662.) The care of the church was no leſs attended to by this parliament, than that of monarchy; and the bill of uniformity was a pledge of their ſincere attachment to the epiſcopal hierarchy, and of their antipathy

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to presbyterianism. Different parties, however, concurred in promoting this bill, which contained many severe clauses. The independents and other sectaries, enraged to find all their schemes subverted by the presbyterians, who had once been their associates, exerted themselves to disappoint that party of the favour and indulgence, to which, from their recent merits in promoting the restoration, they thought themselves justly entitled. By the presbyterians, said they, the war was raised: By them was the populace first incited to tumults: By their zeal, interest, and riches, were the armies supported: By their force was the king subdued: And if, in the sequel, they protested against those extreme violences, committed on his person by the military leaders, their opposition came too late, after having supplied these usupers with the power and the pretences, by which they maintained their sanguinary measures. They had indeed concurred with the royalists in recalling the king: But ought they to be esteemed, on that account, more affectionate to the royal cause? Rage and animosity, from disappointed ambition, were plainly their sole motives; and if the king should now be so imprudent as to distinguish them by any particular indulgences, he would soon experience from them the same hatred and opposition which had proved so fatal to his father.

The catholics, though they had little interest in the nation, were a considerable party at court; and from their services and sufferings during the civil wars, it seemed but just to bear them some favour and regard. These religionists dreaded an entire union among the protestants. Were they the sole nonconformists in the nation, the severe execution of penal laws upon their sect seemed an infallible consequence; and they used, therefore, all their interest to push matters to extremity against the presbyterians, who had formerly been their most severe oppressors, and whom they now expected for their companions in affliction. The earl of Bristol, who, from conviction, or interest, or levity, or complaisance for the company with whom he lived, had changed his

religion during the king's exile, was regarded as the head of this party.

The church party had, during ſo many years, ſuffered ſuch injuries and indignities from the ſectaries of every denomination, that no moderation, much leſs deference, was on this occaſion to be expected in the eccleſiaſtics. Even the laity of that communion ſeemed now diſpoſed to retaliate upon their enemies, according to the uſual meaſures of party juſtice. This ſect or faction (for it partook of both) encouraged the rumours of plots and conſpiracies againſt the government; crimes which, without any apparent reaſon, they imputed to their adverſaries. And inſtead of enlarging the terms of communion, in order to comprehend the preſbyterians, they gladly laid hold of the prejudices, which prevailed among that ſect, in order to eject them from their livings. By the bill of uniformity it was required that every clergyman ſhould be re-ordained, if he had not before received epiſcopal ordination; ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience; ſhould abjure the ſolemn league and covenant; and ſhould renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatſoever, againſt the king.

This bill reinſtated the church in the ſame condition in which it ſtood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old perſecuting laws of Elizabeth ſtill ſubſiſted in their full rigour, and new clauſes of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promiſes of toleration and of indulgence to tender conſciences were thereby eluded and broken. It is true, Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had expreſſed his intention of regulating that indulgence by the advice and authority of parliament: But this limitation could never reaſonably be extended to a total infringement and violation of his engagements. However, it is agreed, that the king did not voluntarily concur with this violent meaſure, and that the zeal of Clarendon and of the church party among the commons, ſeconded by the intrigues of

of the catholics, was the chief cauſe which extorted his conſent.

The royaliſts, who now predominated, were very ready to ſignalize their victory, by eſtabliſhing thoſe high principles of monarchy which their antagoniſts had controverted: But when any real power or revenue was demanded for the crown, they were neither ſo forward nor ſo liberal in their conceſſions as the king would gladly have wiſhed. Though the parliament paſſed laws for regulating the navy, they took no notice of the army; and declined giving their ſanction to this dangerous innovation. The king's debts were become intolerable; and the commons were at laſt conſtrained to vote him an extraordinary ſupply of 1,200,000 pounds, to be levied by eighteen monthly aſſeſſments. But beſides that this ſupply was much inferior to the occaſion, the king was obliged earneſtly to ſolicit the commons, before he could obtain it; and, in order to convince the houſe of its abſolute neceſſity, he deſired them to examine ſtrictly into all his receipts and diſburſements. Finding likewiſe upon inquiry, that the ſeveral branches of revenue fell much ſhort of the ſums expected, they at laſt, after much delay, voted a new impoſition of two ſhillings on each hearth; and this tax they ſettled on the king during life. The whole eſtabliſhed revenue, however, did not, for many years, exceed a million; a ſum confeſſedly too narrow for the public expenſes. A very rigid frugality at leaſt, which the king ſeems to have wanted, would have been requiſite to make it ſuffice for the dignity and ſecurity of government. After all buſineſs was deſpatched, the parliament was prorogued *.

Before the parliament roſe, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the king was betrothed, and who had juſt landed at Portſmouth. During the time that the protector carried on the war with Spain, he was naturally led to ſupport the Portugueſe in their revolt; and he engaged himſelf by treaty to ſupply them

* 19th May.

with

with 10,000 men for their defence againſt the Spaniards. On the king's reſtoration, advances were made by Portugal for the renewal of the alliance; and in order to bind the friendſhip cloſer, an offer was made of the Portugueſe princeſs, and a portion of 500,000 pounds, together with two fortreſſes, Tangiers in Africa, and Bombay in the Eaſt Indies. Spain, who, after the peace of the Pyrenees, bent all her force to recover Portugal, now in appearance abandoned by France, took the alarm, and endeavoured to fix Charles in an oppoſite intereſt. The catholic king offered to adopt any other princeſs as a daughter of Spain, either the princeſs of Parma, or, what he thought more popular, ſome proteſtant princeſs, the daughter of Denmark, Saxony, or Orange: And on any of theſe he promiſed to confer a dowry equal to that which was offered by Portugal. But many reaſons inclined Charles rather to accept of the Portugueſe propoſals. The great diſorders in the government and finances of Spain made the execution of her promiſes be much doubted; and the king's urgent neceſſities demanded ſome immediate ſupply of money. The intereſt of the Engliſh commerce likewiſe ſeemed to require that the independency of Portugal ſhould be ſupported, leſt the union of that crown with Spain ſhould put the whole treaſures of America into the hands of one potentate. The claims too of Spain upon Dunkirk and Jamaica rendered it impoſſible, without farther conceſſions, to obtain the cordial friendſhip of that power: And on the other hand, the offer, made by Portugal, of two ſuch conſiderable fortreſſes, promiſed a great acceſſion to the naval force of England. Above all, the propoſal of a proteſtant princeſs was no allurement to Charles, whoſe inclinations led him ſtrongly to give the preference to a catholic alliance. According to the moſt probable accounts *, the reſolution of marrying the daughter of Portugal

* Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 264. This account ſeems better ſupported, than that of Ablancourt's Memoirs, that the chancellor chiefly puſhed the Portugueſe alliance. The ſecret

Portugal was taken by the king, unknown to all his miniſters; and no remonſtrances could prevail with him to alter his intentions. When the matter was laid before the council, all voices concurred in approving the reſolution; and the parliament expreſſed the ſame complaiſance. (21ſt May.) And thus was concluded, ſeemingly with univerſal conſent, the inauſpicious marriage with Catherine, a princeſs of virtue, but who was never able, either by the graces of her perſon or humour, to make herſelf agreeable to the king. The report, however, of her natural incapacity to have children, ſeems to have been groundleſs; ſince ſhe was twice declared to be pregnant.

The feſtivity of theſe eſpouſals was clouded by the trial and execution of criminals. Berkſtead, Cobbet, and Okey, three regicides, had eſcaped beyond ſea; and after wandering ſome time concealed in Germany, came privately to Delft, having appointed their families to meet them in that place. They were diſcovered by Downing, the king's reſident in Holland, who had formerly ſerved the protector and commonwealth in the ſame ſtation, and who once had even been chaplain to Okey's regiment. He applied for a warrant to arreſt them. It had been uſual for the States to grant theſe warrants; though, at the ſame time, they had ever been careful ſecretly to adverti ſe the perſons, that they might be enabled to make their eſcape. This precaution was eluded by the vigilance and deſpatch of Downing. He quickly ſeized the criminals, hurried them on board a frigate which lay off the coaſt, and ſent them to England. Theſe three men behaved with more moderation and ſubmiſſion than any

ſecret tranſactions of the court of England could not be ſuppoſed to be much known to a French reſident at Lisbon: And whatever oppoſition the chancellor might make, he would certainly endeavour to conceal it from the queen and all her family, and even in the parliament and council would ſupport the reſolution already taken. *Clarendon himſelf ſays in his Memoirs, that he never either oppoſed or promoted the Portugueſe match.*

of

of the other regicides, who had ſuffered. Okey in particular, at the place of execution, prayed for the king, and expreſſed his intention, had he lived, of ſubmitting peaceably to the eſtabliſhed government. He had riſen during the wars from being a chandler in London, to a high rank in the army; and in all his conduct appeared to be a man of humanity and honour. In conſideration of his good character and of his dutiful behaviour, his body was given to his friends to be buried.

The attention of the public was much engaged by the trial of two diſtinguiſhed criminals, Lambert and Vane. Theſe men, though none of the late king's judges, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to priſon. The convention parliament, however, was ſo favourable to them, as to petition the king, if they ſhould be found guilty, to ſuſpend their execution: But this new parliament, more zealous for monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation. Not to revive diſputes, which were better buried in oblivion, the indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the war between the king and parliament: It extended only to his behaviour after the late king's death, as member of the council of ſtate, and ſecretary of the navy, where fidelity to the truſt repoſed in him required his oppoſition to monarchy.

Vane wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himſelf of this advantage. He urged, that, if a compliance with the government, at that time eſtabliſhed in England, and the acknowledging of its authority, were to be regarded as criminal, the whole nation had incurred equal guilt, and none would remain, whoſe innocence could entitle them to try or condemn him for his pretended treaſons: That, according to theſe maxims, wherever an illegal authority was eſtabliſhed by force, a total and univerſal deſtruction muſt enſue: While the uſurpers proſcribed one part of the nation for diſobedience, the lawful prince puniſhed the other for compliance: That the legiſlature of England, foreſeeing this violent ſituation, had provided for public ſecurity by the famous ſta-

tute

tute of Henry VII.; in which it was enacted, that no man, in caſe of any revolution, ſhould ever be queſtioned for his obedience to the king in being: That whether the eſtabliſhed government were a monarchy or a commonwealth, the reaſon of the thing was ſtill the ſame; nor ought the expelled prince to think himſelf entitled to allegiance, ſo long as he could not afford protection: That it belonged not to private perſons, poſſeſſed of no power, to diſcuſs the title of their governors; and every uſurpation, even the moſt flagrant, would equally require obedience with the moſt legal eſtabliſhment: That the controverſy between the late king and his parliament was of the moſt delicate nature; and men of the greateſt probity had been divided in their choice of the party which they ſhould embrace: That the parliament, being rendered indiſſoluble but by its own conſent, was become a kind of co-ordinate power with the king; and as the caſe was thus entirely new and unknown to the conſtitution, it ought not to be tried rigidly by the letter of the ancient laws: That for his part, all the violences which had been put upon the parliament, and upon the perſon of the ſovereign, he had ever condemned; nor had he once appeared in the houſe for ſome time before and after the execution of the king: That finding the whole government thrown into diſorder, he was ſtill reſolved, in every revolution, to adhere to the commons, the root, the foundation of all lawful authority: That in proſecution of this principle, he had cheerfully undergone all the violence of Cromwel's tyranny; and would now, with equal alacrity, expoſe himſelf to the rigours of perverted law and juſtice: That though it was in his power, on the king's reſtoration, to have eſcaped from his enemies, he was determined, in imitation of the moſt illuſtrious names of antiquity, to periſh in defence of liberty, and to give teſtimony with his blood for that honourable cauſe, in which he had been enliſted: And that, beſides the ties, by which God and nature had bound him to his native country, he was voluntarily engaged by the moſt ſacred covenant, whoſe obligation

tion no earthly power ſhould ever be able to make him relinquiſh.

All the defence, which Vane could make, was fruitleſs. (11th June.) The court, conſidering more the general opinion of his active guilt in the beginning and proſecution of the civil wars, than the articles of treaſon charged againſt him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty. His courage deſerted him not upon his condemnation. Though timid by nature, the perſuaſion of a juſt cauſe ſupported him againſt the terrors of death; while his enthuſiaſm, excited by the proſpect of glory, embelliſhed the concluſion of a life, which, through the whole courſe of it, had been ſo much diſfigured by the prevalence of that principle. (14th June.) Leſt pity for a courageous ſufferer ſhould make impreſſion on the populace, drummers were placed under the ſcaffold, whoſe noiſe, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice, and admoniſhed him to temper the ardour of his zeal. He was not aſtoniſhed at this unexpected incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity; and he conſidered death but as a paſſage to that eternal felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him.

This man, ſo celebrated for his parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in buſineſs, has left ſome writings behind him: They treat, all of them, of religious ſubjects, and are abſolutely unintelligible: No traces of eloquence, or even of common ſenſe, appear in them. A ſtrange paradox! did we not know, that men of the greateſt genius, where they relinquiſh by principle the uſe of their reaſon, are only enabled, by their vigour of mind, to work themſelves the deeper into error and abſurdity. It was remarkable, that, as Vane, by being the chief inſtrument of Strafford's death, had firſt opened the way for that deſtruction which overwhelmed the nation; ſo by his death he cloſed the ſcene of blood. He was the laſt that ſuffered on account of the civil wars. Lambert, though condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and

and the judges declared, that, if Vane's behaviour had been equally dutiful and ſubmiſſive, he would have experienced like lenity in the king. Lambert ſurvived his condemnation near thirty years. He was confined to the iſle of Guernſey; where he lived contented, forgetting all his paſt ſchemes of greatneſs; and entirely forgotten by the nation: He died a Roman catholic.

However odious Vane and Lambert were to the preſbyterians, that party had no leiſure to rejoice at their condemnation. (24th Aug.) The fatal St. Bartholomew approached; the day, when the clergy were obliged by the late law, either to relinquiſh their livings, or to ſign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the moſt zealous of the preſbyterian eccleſiaſtics to refuſe the ſubſcription; in hopes that the biſhops would not venture at once to expel ſo great a number of the moſt popular preachers. The catholic party at court, who deſired a great rent among the proteſtants, encouraged them in this obſtinacy, and gave them hopes that the king would protect them in their refuſal. The king himſelf, by his irreſolute conduct, contributed, either from deſign or accident, to increaſe this opinion. Above all, the terms of ſubſcription had been made ſtrict and rigid, on purpoſe to diſguſt all the zealous and ſcrupulous among the preſbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About 2000 of the clergy, in one day, relinquiſhed their cures; and to the aſtoniſhment of the court, ſacrificed their intereſt to their religious tenets. Fortified by ſociety in their ſufferings, they were reſolved to undergo any hardſhips, rather than openly renounce thoſe principles, which, on other occaſions, they were ſo apt, from intereſt, to warp or elude. The church enjoyed the pleaſure of retaliation; and even puſhed, as uſual, the vengeance farther than the offence. During the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth of each living had been left to the ejected clergyman; but this indulgence, though at firſt inſiſted on by the houſe of peers, was now refuſed to the preſbyterians. However difficult to conciliate peace among theologians, it was hoped by many, that ſome relaxation in the terms of communion might have kept

the preſbyterians united to the church, and have cured thoſe eccleſiaſtical factions, which had been ſo fatal, and were ſtill ſo dangerous. Biſhoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among the preſbyterians; the laſt could only be prevailed on to accept. Deaneries and other preferments were refuſed by many.

The next meaſure of the king has not had the good fortune to be juſtified by any party; but is often conſidered, on what grounds I ſhall not determine, as one of the greateſt miſtakes, if not blemiſhes, of his reign. It is the ſale of Dunkirk to the French. The parſimonious maxims of the parliament, and the liberal, or rather careleſs diſpoſition of Charles, were ill ſuited to each other; and notwithſtanding the ſupplies voted him, his treaſury was ſtill very empty and very much indebted. He had ſecretly received the ſum of 200,000 crowns from France for the ſupport of Portugal; but the forces ſent over to that country, and the fleets maintained in order to defend it, had already coſt the king that ſum; and together with it, near double the money which had been paid as the queen's portion *. The time fixed for payment of his ſiſter's portion to the duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangiers, a fortreſs from which great benefit was expected, was become an additional burden to the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded in Dunkirk, had increaſed the charge of that garriſon to a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a-year. Theſe conſiderations had ſuch influence, not only on the king, but even on Clarendon, that this uncorrupt miniſter was the moſt forward to adviſe accepting a ſum of money in lieu of a place which he thought the king, from the narrow ſtate of his revenue, was no longer able to retain. By the treaty with Portugal it was ſtipulated that Dunkirk ſhould never be yielded to the Spaniards: France was therefore the only purchaſer that remained. D'Eſtrades was invited over by a letter from the chancellor himſelf in order to conclude the bargain. Nine

* There was above half of 500,000 pounds really paid as the queen's portion.

hundred thouſand pounds were demanded. One hundred thouſand were offered. The Engliſh by degrees lowered their demand: The French raiſed their offer: And the bargain was concluded at 400,000 pounds. The artillery and ſtores were valued at a fifth of the ſum. The importance of this ſale was not, at that time, ſufficiently known, either abroad or at home *. The French monarch himſelf, ſo fond of acquiſitions, and ſo good a judge of his own intereſts, thought that he had made a hard bargain †; and this ſum, in appearance ſo ſmall, was the utmoſt which he would allow his ambaſſador to offer.

A new incident diſcovered ſuch a glimpſe of the king's character and principles as, at firſt, the nation was ſomewhat at a loſs how to interpret, but ſuch as ſubſequent events, by degrees, rendered ſufficiently plain and manifeſt. (26th Dec.) He iſſued a declaration, on pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the act of uniformity. After expreſſing his firm reſolution to obſerve the general indemnity, and to truſt entirely to the affections of his ſubjects, not to any military power, for the ſupport of his throne, he mentioned the

* It appears, however, from many of D'Eſtrades's letters, particularly that of the 21ſt of Auguſt 1661, that the king might have transferred Dunkirk to the parliament, who would not have refuſed to bear the charges of it, but were unwilling to give money to the king for that purpoſe. The king, on the other hand, was jealous, leſt the parliament ſhould acquire any ſeparate dominion or authority in a branch of adminiſtration which ſeemed ſo little to belong to them: A proof that the government was not yet ſettled into that compoſure and mutual confidence which is abſolutely requiſite for conducting it.

† The chief importance indeed of Dunkirk to the Engliſh was, that it was able to diſtreſs their trade, when in the hands of the French: But it was Lewis the XIVth who firſt made it a good ſea-port. If ever England have occaſion to tranſport armies to the continent, it muſt be in ſupport of ſome ally whoſe towns ſerve to the ſame purpoſe as Dunkirk would if in the hands of the Engliſh.

promiſes of liberty of conſcience, contained in his declaration of Breda. And he ſubjoined, that, "as in the "firſt place he had been zealous to ſettle the uniformity "of the church of England, in diſcipline, ceremony, "and government, and ſhall ever conſtantly maintain it: "So as for what concerns the penalties upon thoſe who, "living peaceably, do not conform themſelves thereun-"to, through ſcruple and tenderneſs of miſguided con-"ſcience, but modeſtly and without ſcandal perform "their devotions in their own way, he ſhould make it "his ſpecial care, ſo far as in him lay, without invad-"ing the freedom of parliament, to incline their wiſdom "next approaching ſeſſions to concur with him in mak-"ing ſome ſuch act for that purpoſe, as may enable "him to exerciſe, with a more univerſal ſatisfaction, "that power of diſpenſing which he conceived to be in-"herent in him." Here a moſt important prerogative was exerciſed by the king; but under ſuch artful reſerves and limitations as might prevent the full diſcuſſion of the claim, and obviate a breach between him and his parliament. The foundation of this meaſure lay much deeper, and was of the utmoſt conſequence.

The king, during his exile, had imbibed ſtrong prejudices in favour of the catholic religion; and according to the moſt probable accounts, had already been ſecretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome. The great zeal expreſſed by the parliamentary party againſt all papiſts, had always, from a ſpirit of oppoſition, inclined the court, and all the royaliſts, to adopt more favourable ſentiments towards that ſect, which, through the whole courſe of the civil wars, had ſtrenuouſly ſupported the rights of the ſovereign. The rigour too which the king, during his abode in Scotland, had experienced from the preſbyterians, diſpoſed him to run into the other extreme, and to bear a kindneſs to the party moſt oppoſite in its genius to the ſeverity of thoſe religioniſts. The ſolicitations and importunities of the queen-mother, the contagion of the company which he frequented, the view of a more ſplendid and courtly mode of worſhip, the hopes of indulgence in pleaſure; all theſe cauſes

operated

operated powerfully on a young prince, whose careless and dissolute temper made him incapable of adhering closely to the principles of his early education. But if the thoughtless humour of Charles rendered him an easy convert to popery, the same disposition ever prevented the theological tenets of that sect from taking any fast hold of him. During his vigorous state of health, while his blood was warm and his spirits high; a contempt and disregard to all religion held possession of his mind; and he might more properly be denominated a deist than a catholic. But in those revolutions of temper, when the love of raillery gave place to reflection, and his penetrating, but negligent, understanding was clouded with fears and apprehensions, he had starts of more sincere conviction; and a sect, which always possessed his inclination, was then master of his judgment and opinion *.

But though the king thus fluctuated, during his whole reign, between irreligion, which he more openly professed, and popery, to which he retained a secret propensity, his brother, the duke of York, had zealously adopted all the principles of that theological party. His eager temper and narrow understanding made him a thorough convert, without any reserve from interest, or doubts from reasoning and inquiry. By his application to business he had acquired a great ascendant over the king, who, though possessed of more discernment, was glad to throw the burden of affairs on the duke, of whom he entertained little jealousy. On pretence of easing the protestant dissenters, they agreed upon a plan for introducing a general toleration, and giving the catholics the free exercise of their religion; at least, the exercise of it in private houses. The two brothers saw with pleasure so numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuse conformity; and it was hoped that, under shelter of their name, the small and hated sect of the catholics might meet with favour and protection.

* The author confesses, that the king's zeal for popery was apt, at intervals, to go farther than is here supposed, as appears from many passages in James the second's Memoirs.

(1663, 18th Feb.) But while the king pleaded his early promiſes of toleration, and inſiſted on many other plauſible topics, the parliament, who ſat a little after the declaration was iſſued, could by no means be ſatisfied with this meaſure. The declared intention of eaſing the diſſenters, and the ſecret purpoſe of favouring the catholics, were equally diſagreeable to them; and in theſe prepoſſeſſions they were encouraged by the king's miniſters themſelves, particularly the chancellor. The houſe of commons repreſented to the king, that his declaration of Breda contained no promiſe to the preſbyterians and other diſſenters, but only an expreſſion of his intentions, upon ſuppoſition of the concurrence of parliament: That even if the nonconformiſts had been entitled to plead a promiſe, they had entruſted this claim, as all their other rights and privileges, to the houſe of commons, who were their repreſentatives, and who now freed the king from that obligation: That it was not to be ſuppoſed that his majeſty and the houſes were ſo bound by that declaration as to be incapacitated from making any laws which might be contrary to it: That even at the king's reſtoration, there were laws of uniformity in force which could not be diſpenſed with but by act of parliament: And that the indulgence intended would prove moſt pernicious both to church and ſtate, would open the door to ſchiſm, encourage faction, diſturb the public peace, and diſcredit the wiſdom of the legiſlature. The king did not think proper, after this remonſtrance, to inſiſt any farther at preſent on the project of indulgence.

In order to deprive the catholics of all hopes, the two houſes concurred in a remonſtrance againſt them. The king gave a gracious anſwer; though he ſcrupled not to profeſs his gratitude towards many of that perſuaſion, on account of their faithful ſervices in his father's cauſe and in his own. A proclamation, for form's ſake, was ſoon after iſſued againſt Jeſuits and Romiſh prieſts: But care was taken, by the very terms of it, to render it ineffectual. The parliament had allowed, that all foreign prieſts, belonging to the two queens, ſhould be excepted,

and

and that a permiſſion for them to remain in England ſhould ſtill be granted. In the proclamation, the word *foreign* was purpoſely omitted; and the queens were thereby authoriſed to give protection to as many Engliſh prieſts as they ſhould think proper.

That the king might reap ſome advantage from his compliances, however fallacious, he engaged the commons anew into an examination of his revenue, which, chiefly by the negligence in levying it, had proved, he ſaid, much inferior to the public charges. Notwithſtanding the price of Dunkirk, his debts, he complained, amounted to a conſiderable ſum; and to ſatisfy the commons that the money formerly granted him had not been prodigally expended, he offered to lay before them the whole account of his diſburſements. It is, however, agreed on all hands, that the king, though during his baniſhment he had managed his ſmall and precarious income with great order and economy, had now much abated of theſe virtues, and was unable to make his royal revenues ſuffice for his expenſes. The commons, without entering into too nice a diſquiſition, voted him four ſubſidies; and this was the laſt time that taxes were levied in that manner.

Several laws were made this ſeſſion with regard to trade. The militia alſo came under conſideration, and ſome rules were eſtabliſhed for ordering and arming it. It was enacted, that the king ſhould have no power of keeping the militia under arms above fourteen days in the year. The ſituation of this iſland, together with its great naval power, has always occaſioned other means of ſecurity, however requiſite, to be much neglected amongſt us: And the parliament ſhowed here a very ſuperfluous jealouſy of the king's ſtrictneſs in diſciplining the militia. The principles of liberty rather require a contrary jealouſy.

The earl of Briſtol's friendſhip with Clarendon, which had ſubſiſted with great intimacy during their exile and the diſtreſſes of the royal party, had been conſiderably impaired ſince the reſtoration, by the chancellor's refuſing his aſſent to ſome grants, which Briſtol had applied

applied for to a court lady: And a little after, the latter nobleman, agreeably to the impetuosity and indiscretion of his temper, broke out against the minister in the most outrageous manner. He even entered a charge of treason against him before the house of peers; but had concerted his measures so imprudently, that the judges, when consulted, declared, that, neither for its matter nor its form, could the charge be legally received. The articles indeed resemble more the incoherent altercations of a passionate enemy, than a serious accusation, fit to be discussed by a court of judicature; and Bristol himself was so ashamed of his conduct and defeat, that he absconded during some time. Notwithstanding his fine talents, his eloquence, his spirit, and his courage, he could never regain the character which he lost by this hasty and precipitate measure.

But though Clarendon was able to elude this rash assault, his credit at court was sensibly declining; and in proportion as the king found himself established on the throne, he began to alienate himself from a minister, whose character was so little suited to his own. Charles's favour for the catholics was always opposed by Clarendon, public liberty was secured against all attempts of the over-zealous royalists, prodigal grants of the king were checked or refused, and the dignity of his own character was so much consulted by the chancellor, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did also his friend, Southampton, never to enter into any connexion with the royal mistresses. The king's favourite was Mrs. Palmer, afterwards created dutchess of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, dissolute, violent, revengeful. She failed not in her turn to undermine Clarendon's credit with his master; and her success was at this time made apparent to the whole world. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and sir Harry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office. Bennet was soon after created lord Arlington.

Though the king's conduct had hitherto, since his restoration, been, in the main, laudable, men of penetration

tration began to obſerve, that thoſe virtues, by which he had at firſt ſo much dazzled and enchanted the nation, had great ſhow, but not equal ſolidity. His good underſtanding loſt much of its influence by his want of application; his bounty was more the reſult of a facility of diſpoſition, than any generoſity of character; his ſocial humour led him frequently to neglect his dignity; his love of pleaſure was not attended with proper ſentiment and decency; and while he ſeemed to bear a good-will to every one that approached him, he had a heart not very capable of friendſhip, and he had ſecretly entertained a very bad opinion and diſtruſt of mankind. But above all, what ſullied his character in the eyes of good judges, was his negligent ingratitude towards the unfortunate cavaliers, whoſe zeal and ſufferings in the royal cauſe had known no bounds. This conduct, however, in the king, may, from the circumſtances of his ſituation and temper, admit of ſome excuſe; at leaſt, of ſome alleviation. As he had been reſtored more by the efforts of his reconciled enemies than of his ancient friends, the former pretended a title to ſhare his favour; and being, from practice, acquainted with public buſineſs, they were better qualified to execute any truſt committed to them. The king's revenues were far from being large, or even equal to his neceſſary expenſes; and his miſtreſſes, and the companions of his mirth and pleaſures, gained, by ſolicitation, every requeſt from his eaſy temper. The very poverty, to which the more zealous royaliſts had reduced themſelves, by rendering them inſignificant, made them unfit to ſupport the king's meaſures, and cauſed him to deem them a uſeleſs incumbrance. And as many falſe and ridiculous claims of merit were offered, his natural indolence, averſe to a ſtrict diſcuſſion or inquiry, led him to treat them all with equal indifference. The parliament took ſome notice of the poor cavaliers. Sixty thouſand pounds were at one time diſtributed among them: Mrs. Lane alſo, and the Penderells, had handſome preſents and penſions from the king. But the greater part of the royaliſts ſtill remained in poverty and diſtreſs; aggravated by the cruel diſappointment

ment in their ſanguine hopes, and by ſeeing favour and preferment beſtowed upon their moſt inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they univerſally ſaid, that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

CHAP. LXIV.

A new ſeſſion—Rupture with Holland—A new ſeſſion—Victory of the Engliſh—Rupture with France—Rupture with Denmark—New ſeſſion—Sea fight of four days—Victory of the Engliſh—Fire of London—Advances towards peace—Diſgrace at Chatham—Peace of Breda—Clarendon's fall—and baniſhment—State of France—Character of Lewis XIV.—French invaſion of the Low Countries—Negotiations—Triple league—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—Affairs of Scotland—and of Ireland.

(1664.) THE next ſeſſion of parliament * diſcovered a continuance of the ſame principles which had prevailed in all the foregoing. Monarchy and the church were ſtill the objects of regard and affection. During no period of the preſent reign did this ſpirit more evidently paſs the bounds of reaſon and moderation.

The king, in his ſpeech to the parliament, had ventured openly to demand a repeal of the triennial act; and he even went ſo far as to declare that, notwithſtanding the law, he never would allow any parliament to be aſſembled by the methods preſcribed in that ſtatute. The parliament, without taking offence at this declaration, repealed the law; and in lieu of all the ſecurities formerly provided, ſatisfied themſelves with a general clauſe, "that parliaments ſhould not be interrupted "above three years at the moſt." As the Engliſh parliament had now raiſed itſelf to be a regular check and control upon royal power; it is evident that they ought ſtill

* March 16.

to

to have preſerved a regular ſecurity for their meeting, and not have truſted entirely to the good-will of the king, who, if ambitious or enterpriſing, had ſo little reaſon to be pleaſed with theſe aſſemblies. Before the end of Charles's reign, the nation had occaſion to feel very ſenſibly the effects of this repeal.

By the act of uniformity, every clergyman, who ſhould officiate without being properly qualified, was puniſhable by fine and impriſonment: But this ſecurity was not thought ſufficient for the church. It was now enacted, that wherever five perſons above thoſe of the ſame houſehold ſhould aſſemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the firſt offence, to be impriſoned three months, or pay five pounds; for the ſecond, to be impriſoned ſix months, or pay ten pounds; and for the third to be tranſported ſeven years, or pay a hundred pounds. The parliament had only in their eye the malignity of the ſectaries: They ſhould have carried their attention farther, to the chief cauſe of that malignity, the reſtraint under which they laboured.

The commons likewiſe paſſed a vote, that the wrongs, diſhonours, and indignities, offered to the Engliſh by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, were the greateſt obſtructions to all foreign trade: And they promiſed to aſſiſt the king with their lives and fortunes in aſſerting the rights of his crown againſt all oppoſition whatſoever. This was the firſt open ſtep towards a Dutch war. We muſt explain the cauſes and motives of this meaſure.

That cloſe union and confederacy, which, during a courſe of near ſeventy years, has ſubſiſted, almoſt without interruption or jealouſy, between England and Holland, is not ſo much founded on the natural unalterable intereſts of theſe ſtates, as on their terror of the growing power of the French monarch, who, without their combination, it is apprehended, would ſoon extend his dominion over Europe. In the firſt year of Charles's reign, when the ambitious genius of Lewis had not, as yet, diſplayed itſelf, and when the great force of his people was, in ſome meaſure, unknown even to themſelves, the rivalſhip of commerce, not checked by any other jealouſy

jealouſy or apprehenſion, had in England begotten a violent enmity againſt the neighbouring republic.

Trade was beginning, among the Engliſh, to be a matter of general concern; but notwithſtanding all their efforts and advantages, their commerce ſeemed hitherto to ſtand upon a footing which was ſomewhat precarious. The Dutch, who by induſtry and frugality were enabled to underſell them in every market, retained poſſeſſion of the moſt lucrative branches of commerce; and the Engliſh merchants had the mortification to find that all attempts to extend their trade were ſtill turned, by the vigilance of their rivals, to their loſs and diſhonour. Their indignation increaſed, when they conſidered the ſuperior naval power of England; the bravery of her officers and ſeamen; her favourable ſituation, which enabled her to intercept the whole Dutch commerce. By the proſpect of theſe advantages they were ſtrongly prompted, from motives leſs juſt than political, to make war upon the States; and at once to raviſh from them by force, what they could not obtain, or could obtain but ſlowly, by ſuperior ſkill and induſtry.

The careleſs unambitious temper of Charles rendered him little capable of forming ſo vaſt a project as that of engroſſing the commerce and naval power of Europe; yet could he not remain altogether inſenſible to ſuch obvious and ſuch tempting proſpects. His genius, happily turned towards mechanics, had inclined him to ſtudy naval affairs, which, of all branches of buſineſs, he both loved the moſt and underſtood the beſt. Though the Dutch, during his exile, had expreſſed towards him more civility and friendſhip, than he had received from any other foreign power; the Louveſtein or ariſtocratic faction, which at this time ruled the commonwealth, had fallen into cloſe union with France; and could that party be ſubdued, he might hope that his nephew, the young prince of Orange, would be reinſtated in the authority poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, and would bring the States to a dependance under England. His narrow revenues made it ſtill requiſite for him to ſtudy the humours of his people, which now ran violently towards war; and it has

has been ſuſpected, though the ſuſpicion was not juſtified by the event, that the hopes of diverting ſome of the ſupplies to his private uſe were not overlooked by this neceſſitous monarch.

The duke of York, more active and enterpriſing, puſhed more eagerly the war with Holland. He deſired an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf: He loved to cultivate commerce: He was at the head of a new African company, whoſe trade was extremely checked by the ſettlements of the Dutch: And perhaps the religious prejudices, by which that prince was always ſo much governed, began even ſo early to inſtil into him an antipathy againſt a proteſtant commonwealth, the bulwark of the reformation. Clarendon and Southampton, obſerving that the nation was not ſupported by any foreign alliance, were averſe to hoſtilities; but their credit was now on the decline.

By theſe concurring motives, the court and parliament were both of them inclined to a Dutch war. (17th May.) The parliament was prorogued without voting ſupplies: But as they had been induced, without any open application from the crown, to paſs that vote abovementioned againſt the Dutch encroachments, it was reaſonably conſidered as ſufficient ſanction for the vigorous meaſures which were reſolved on.

Downing, the Engliſh miniſter at the Hague, a man of an inſolent impetuous temper, preſented a memorial to the States, containing a liſt of thoſe depredations, of which the Engliſh complained. It is remarkable, that all the pretended depredations preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been renewed with the Dutch; and theſe complaints were then thought either ſo ill grounded or ſo frivolous, that they had not been mentioned in the treaty. Two ſhips alone, the Bonaventure and the Good-hope, had been claimed by the Engliſh; and it was agreed that the claim ſhould be proſecuted by the ordinary courſe of juſtice. The States had conſigned a ſum of money, in caſe the cauſe ſhould be decided againſt them; but the matter was ſtill in dependance. Cary, who was entruſted by the proprietors with

the management of the law-ſuit for the Bonaventure, had reſolved to accept of thirty thouſand pounds, which were offered him; but was hindered by Downing, who told him, that the claim was a matter of ſtate between the two nations, not a concern of private perſons. Theſe circumſtances give us no favourable idea of the juſtice of the Engliſh pretenſions.

Charles confined not himſelf to memorials and remonſtrances. Sir Robert Holmes was ſecretly deſpatched with a ſquadron of twenty-two ſhips to the coaſt of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe, to which the Engliſh had ſome pretenſions: He likewiſe ſeized the Dutch ſettlements of Cape Verde and the iſle of Goree, together with ſeveral ſhips trading on that coaſt. And having ſailed to America, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Nova Belgia, ſince called New York; a territory which James the Firſt had given by patent to the earl of Stirling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the States complained of theſe hoſtile meaſures, the king, unwilling to avow what he could not well juſtify, pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enterpriſe. He likewiſe confined that admiral to the Tower; but ſome time after releaſed him.

The Dutch, finding that their applications for redreſs were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was induſtriouſly ſought for by the Engliſh, began to arm with diligence. They even exerted, with ſome precipitation, an act of vigour, which haſtened on the rupture. Sir John Lawſon and de Ruyter had been ſent with combined ſquadrons into the Mediterranean, in order to chaſtiſe the piratical ſtates on the coaſt of Barbary; and the time of their ſeparation and return was now approaching. The States ſecretly deſpatched orders to de Ruyter, that he ſhould take in proviſions at Cadiz; and ſailing towards the coaſt of Guinea, ſhould retaliate on the Engliſh, and put the Dutch in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſettlements whence Holmes had expelled them. De Ruyter, having a conſiderable force on board, met with no oppoſition in Guinea. All the new acquiſitions of the Engliſh, except Cape Corſe, were recovered from them.

They

They were even diſpoſſeſſed of ſome old ſettlements. Such of their ſhips as fell into his hands were ſeized by de Ruyter. That admiral ſailed next to America. He attacked Barbadoes, but was repulſed. He afterwards committed hoſtilities on Long Iſland.

Meanwhile, the Engliſh preparations for war were advancing with vigour and induſtry. The king had received no ſupplies from parliament; but by his own funds and credit he was enabled to equip a fleet: The city of London lent him 100,000 pounds: The ſpirit of the nation ſeconded his armaments: He himſelf went from port to port, inſpecting with great diligence, and encouraging the work: And in a little time the Engliſh navy was put in a formidable condition. Eight hundred thouſand pounds are ſaid to have been expended on this armament. When Lawſon arrived, and communicated his ſuſpicion of de Ruyter's enterpriſe, orders were iſſued for ſeizing all Dutch ſhips; and 135 fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Theſe were not declared prizes, till afterwards, when war was proclaimed.

The parliament, when it met (24th Nov.), granted a ſupply, the largeſt by far that had ever been given to a king of England, yet ſcarcely ſufficient for the preſent undertaking. Near two millions and a half were voted, to be levied by quarterly payments in three years. The avidity of the merchants, together with the great proſpect of ſucceſs, had animated the whole nation againſt the Dutch.

A great alteration was made this ſeſſion in the method of taxing the clergy. In almoſt all the other monarchies of Europe, the aſſemblies, whoſe conſent was formerly requiſite to the enacting of laws, were compoſed of three eſtates, the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty, which formed ſo many members of the political body, of which the king was conſidered as the head. In England too, the parliament was always repreſented as conſiſting of three eſtates; but their ſeparation was never ſo diſtinct as in other kingdoms. A convocation, however, had uſually ſitten at the ſame time with the parliament; though they poſſeſſed not a negative voice in the paſſing

of laws, and assumed no other temporal power than that of imposing taxes on the clergy. By reason of ecclesiastical preferments, which he could bestow, the king's influence over the church was more considerable than over the laity; so that the subsidies, granted by the convocation, were commonly greater than those which were voted by parliament. The church, therefore, was not displeased to depart tacitly from the right of taxing herself, and allow the commons to lay impositions on ecclesiastical revenues, as on the rest of the kingdom. In recompense, two subsidies, which the convocation had formerly granted, were remitted, and the parochial clergy were allowed to vote at elections. Thus the church of England made a barter of power for profit. Their convocations, having become insignificant to the crown, have been much disused of late years.

The Dutch saw, with the utmost regret, a war approaching, whence they might dread the most fatal consequences, but which afforded no prospect of advantage. They tried every art of negotiation, before they would come to extremities. Their measures were at that time directed by John de Wit, a minister equally eminent for greatness of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. Though moderate in his private deportment, he knew how to adopt in his public counsels that magnanimity, which suits the minister of a great state. It was ever his maxim, that no independent government should yield to another any evident point of reason or equity; and that all such concessions, so far from preventing war, served to no other purpose than to provoke fresh claims and insults. By his management a spirit of union was preserved in all the provinces; great sums were levied; and a navy was equipped, composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

(1665, 22d Feb.) As soon as certain intelligence arrived of de Ruyter's enterprises, Charles declared war against the States. His fleet, consisting of 114 sail, besides fire-ships and ketches, was commanded by the duke of York, and under him by prince Rupert and the earl

of

of Sandwich. It had about 22,000 men on board. (3d June.) Obdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the duke of York, Obdam's ship blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast. Tromp alone, son of the famous admiral killed during the former war, bravely sustained with his squadron the efforts of the English, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk and taken. The victors lost only one. Sir John Lawson died soon after of his wounds.

It is affirmed, and with an appearance of reason, that this victory might have been rendered more complete, had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Brounker, one of the duke's bedchamber, who pretended authority from his master. The duke disclaimed the orders; but Brounker never was sufficiently punished for his temerity *. It is allowed, however, that the duke behaved with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickest of the fire. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot at his side, and covered him all over with their brains and gore. And it

* King James, in his Memoirs, gives an account of this affair different from what we meet with in any historian. He says, that, while he was asleep, Brounker brought orders to sir John Harman, captain of the ship, to slacken sail. Sir John remonstrated, but obeyed. After some time, finding that his falling back was likely to produce confusion in the fleet, he hoisted the sail as before: So that the prince coming soon after on the quarter-deck, and finding all things as he left them, knew nothing of what had passed during his repose. Nobody gave him the least intimation of it. It was long after, that he heard of it by a kind of accident; and he intended to have punished Brounker by martial law; but just about that time, the house of commons took up the question and impeached him, which made it impossible for the duke to punish him otherwise than by dismissing him his service. Brounker, before the house, never pretended that he had received any orders from the duke.

is not likely, that, in a purſuit, where even perſons of inferior ſtation, and of the moſt cowardly diſpoſition, acquire courage, a commander ſhould feel his ſpirits to flag, and ſhould turn from the back of an enemy, whoſe face he had not been afraid to encounter.

This diſaſter threw the Dutch into conſternation, and determined de Wit, who was the ſoul of their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to ſupport the declining courage of his countrymen. He went on board the fleet, which he took under his command; and he ſoon remedied all thoſe diſorders which had been occaſioned by the late misfortune. The genius of this man was of the moſt extenſive nature. He quickly became as much maſter of naval affairs, as if he had from his infancy been educated in them; and he even made improvements in ſome parts of pilotage and ſailing, beyond what men expert in thoſe arts had ever been able to attain.

The misfortunes of the Dutch determined their allies to act for their aſſiſtance and ſupport. The king of France was engaged in a defenſive alliance with the States; but as his naval force was yet in its infancy, he was extremely averſe, at that time, from entering into a war with ſo formidable a power as England. He long tried to mediate a peace between the States, and for that purpoſe ſent an embaſſy to London, which returned without effecting any thing. Lord Hollis, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, endeavoured to draw over Lewis to the ſide of England; and, in his maſter's name, made him the moſt tempting offers. Charles was content to abandon all the Spaniſh Low Countries to the French, without pretending to a foot of ground for himſelf; provided Lewis would allow him to purſue his advantages againſt the Dutch. But the French monarch, though the conqueſt of that valuable territory was the chief object of his ambition, rejected the offer as contrary to his intereſts: He thought, that if the Engliſh had once eſtabliſhed an uncontrollable dominion over the ſea and over commerce, they would ſoon be able to render his acquiſitions a dear purchaſe to him. When de Lionne, the

French

French ſecretary, aſſured Van Beuninghen, ambaſſador of the States, that this offer had been preſſed on his maſter during ſix months; "I can readily believe it," replied the Dutchman; "I am ſenſible that it is the intereſt "of England."

Such were the eſtabliſhed maxims at that time with regard to the intereſts of princes. It muſt however be allowed, that the politics of Charles, in making this offer, were not a little hazardous. The extreme weakneſs of Spain would have rendered the French conqueſts eaſy and infallible; but the vigour of the Dutch, it might be foreſeen, would make the ſucceſs of the Engliſh much more precarious. And even were the naval force of Holland totally annihilated, the acquiſition of the Dutch commerce to England could not be relied on as a certain conſequence; nor is trade a conſtant attendant of power, but depends on many other, and ſome of them very delicate circumſtances.

Though the king of France was reſolved to ſupport the Hollanders in that unequal conteſt in which they were engaged; yet he protracted his declaration, and employed the time in naval preparations, both in the ocean and the Mediterranean. The king of Denmark meanwhile was reſolved not to remain an idle ſpectator of the conteſt between the maritime powers. The part which he acted was the moſt extraordinary: He made a ſecret agreement with Charles to ſeize all the Dutch ſhips in his harbours, and to ſhare the ſpoils with the Engliſh, provided they would aſſiſt him in executing this meaſure. In order to increaſe his prey, he perfidiouſly invited the Dutch to take ſhelter in his ports; and accordingly the Eaſt India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen. Sandwich, who now commanded the Engliſh navy (the duke having gone aſhore), deſpatched ſir Thomas Tiddiman with a ſquadron to attack them; but whether from the king of Denmark's delay in ſending orders to the governor, or, what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavouring to engroſs the whole booty, the Engliſh admiral, though he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpoſe. (3d Aug.) The Daniſh governor fired upon him;

him; and the Dutch, having had leiſure to fortify themſelves, made a gallant reſiſtance.

The king of Denmark, ſeemingly aſhamed of his conduct, concluded with ſir Gilbert Talbot, the Engliſh envoy, an offenſive alliance againſt the States; and at the very ſame time, his reſident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offenſive alliance againſt England. To this latter alliance he adhered, probably from jealouſy of the increaſing naval power of England; and he ſeized and confiſcated all the Engliſh ſhips in his harbours. This was a ſenſible check to the advantages which Charles had obtained over the Dutch. Not only a blow was given to the Engliſh commerce; the king of Denmark's naval force was alſo conſiderable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That prince ſtipulated to aſſiſt his ally with a fleet of thirty ſail; and he received in return a yearly ſubſidy of 1,500,000 crowns, of which 300,000 were paid by France.

The king endeavoured to counterbalance theſe confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies. He had deſpatched ſir Richard Fanſhaw into Spain, who met with a very cold reception. That monarchy was ſunk into a ſtate of weakneſs, and was menaced with an invaſion from France; yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to enter into cordial friendſhip with England. Charles's alliance with Portugal, the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers, the ſale of Dunkirk to the French; all theſe offences ſunk ſo deep in the mind of the Spaniſh monarch, that no motive of intereſt was ſufficient to outweigh them.

The biſhop of Munſter was the only ally that Charles could acquire. This prelate, a man of reſtleſs enterpriſe and ambition, had entertained a violent animoſity againſt the States; and he was eaſily engaged, by the promiſe of ſubſidies from England, to make an incurſion on that republic. With a tumultuary army of near 20,000 men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak reſiſtance. The land forces of the States were as feeble and ill-governed, as their fleets were gallant and formidable. But after his committing great ravages in ſeveral of the provinces,

provinces, a ſtop was put to the progreſs of this warlike prelate. He had not military ſkill ſufficient to improve the advantages which fortune had put into his hands: The king of France ſent a body of ſix thouſand men to oppoſe him: Subſidies were not regularly remitted him from England; and many of his troops deſerted for want of pay: The elector of Brandenburgh threatened him with an invaſion in his own ſtate. And on the whole, he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the firſt ſurmiſe of his intentions, ſir William Temple was ſent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance; but found that he arrived too late.

The Dutch, encouraged by all theſe favourable circumſtances, continued reſolute to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in their own defence. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from his expedition to Guinea: Their Indian fleet was come home in ſafety: Their harbours were crowded with merchant-ſhips: Faction at home was appeaſed: The young prince of Orange had put himſelf under the tuition of the States of Holland, and of de Wit, their penſionary, who executed his truſt with honour and fidelity: And the animoſity which the Hollanders entertained againſt the attack of the Engliſh, ſo unprovoked, as they thought it, made them thirſt for revenge, and hope for better ſucceſs in their next enterpriſe. Such vigour was exerted in the common cauſe, that, in order to man the fleet, all merchant-ſhips were prohibited to ſail, and even the fiſheries were ſuſpended.

The Engliſh likewiſe continued in the ſame diſpoſition, though another more grievous calamity had joined itſelf to that of war. The plague had broken out in London; and that with ſuch violence as to cut off, in a year, near 90,000 inhabitants. (10th Oct.) The king was obliged to ſummon the parliament at Oxford.

A good agreement ſtill ſubſiſted between the king and parliament. They, on their part, unanimouſly voted him the ſupply demanded, twelve hundred and fifty thouſand

thouſand pounds, to be levied in two years by monthly aſſeſſments. And he, to gratify them, paſſed the five-mile-act, which has given occaſion to grievous and not unjuſt complaints. The church, under pretence of guarding monarchy againſt its inveterate enemies, perſevered in the project of wreaking her own enmity againſt the nonconformiſts. It was enacted, that no diſſenting teacher who took not the non-reſiſtance oath above mentioned, ſhould, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had preached after the act of oblivion. The penalty was a fine of fifty pounds, and ſix months impriſonment. By ejecting the nonconforming clergy from their churches, and prohibiting all ſeparate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of gaining any livelihood by their ſpiritual profeſſion. And now, under colour of removing them from places where their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of ſubſiſtence. Had not the ſpirit of the nation undergone a change, theſe violences were preludes to the moſt furious perſecution.

However prevalent the hierarchy, this law did not paſs without oppoſition. Beſides ſeveral peers, attached to the old parliamentary party, Southampton himſelf, though Clarendon's great friend, expreſſed his diſapprobation of theſe meaſures. But the church party, not diſcouraged with this oppoſition, introduced into the houſe of commons a bill for impoſing the oath of non-reſiſtance on the whole nation. It was rejected only by three voices. (31ſt Oct.) The parliament, after a ſhort ſeſſion, was prorogued.

(1666.) After France had declared war, England was evidently overmatched in force. Yet ſhe poſſeſſed this advantage by her ſituation, that ſhe lay between the fleets of her enemies, and might be able, by ſpeedy and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But ſuch was the unhappy conduct of her commanders, or ſuch the want of intelligence in her miniſters, that this circumſtance turned rather to her prejudice. Lewis had

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given orders to the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to ſail from Toulon; and the French ſquadron, under his command, conſiſting of above forty ſail, was now commonly ſuppoſed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of ſeventy-ſix ſail, was at ſea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert commanded the Engliſh fleet, which exceeded not ſeventy-four ſail. Albemarle, who, from his ſucceſſes under the protector, had too much learned to deſpiſe the enemy, propoſed to detach prince Rupert with twenty ſhips, in order to oppoſe the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayſcue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter, proteſted againſt the temerity of this reſolution: But Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the Engliſh ſet ſail to give battle to the Dutch; who, ſeeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle that enſued is one of the moſt memorable that we read of in ſtory; whether we conſider its long duration, or the deſperate courage with which it was fought. Albemarle made here ſome atonement by his valour for the raſhneſs of the attempt. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himſelf more than did this man, who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the ſummit of honours. We ſhall not enter minutely into particulars. It will be ſufficient to mention the chief events of each day's engagement.

(1ſt June.) In the firſt day, ſir William Berkeley, vice-admiral, leading the van, fell into the thickeſt of the enemy, was overpowered, and his ſhip taken. He himſelf was found dead in his cabin, all covered with blood. The Engliſh had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew ſo hard, that they could not uſe their lower tire, they derived but ſmall advantage from this circumſtance. The Dutch ſhot, however, fell chiefly on their ſails and rigging; and few ſhips were ſunk or much damaged. Chain-ſhot was at that time a new invention; commonly attributed to de Wit. Sir John Harman exerted himſelf extremely on this day. The

Dutch

Dutch admiral, Evertz, was killed in engaging him. Darkneſs parted the combatants.

The ſecond day, the wind was ſomewhat fallen, and the combat became more ſteady and more terrible. The Engliſh now found, that the greateſt valour cannot compenſate the ſuperiority of numbers, againſt an enemy who is well conducted, and who is not defective in courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, rivals in glory and enemies from faction, exerted themſelves in emulation of each other; and de Ruyter had the advantage of diſengaging and ſaving his antagoniſt, who had been ſurrounded by the Engliſh, and was in the moſt imminent danger. Sixteen freſh ſhips joined the Dutch fleet during the action; and the Engliſh were ſo ſhattered, that their fighting ſhips were reduced to twenty-eight, and they found themſelves obliged to retreat towards their own coaſt. The Dutch followed them, and were on the point of renewing the combat; when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the engagement.

Next morning, the Engliſh were obliged to continue their retreat; and a proper diſpoſition was made for that purpoſe. The ſhattered ſhips were ordered to ſtretch a-head; and ſixteen of the moſt entire followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Albemarle himſelf cloſed the rear, and preſented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The earl of Oſſory, ſon of Ormond, a gallant youth, who ſought honour and experience in every action throughout Europe, was then on board the admiral. Albemarle confeſſed to him his intention rather to blow up his ſhip and periſh glorioufly, than yield to the enemy. Oſſory applauded this deſperate reſolution.

About two o'clock, the Dutch had come up with their enemy, and were ready to renew the fight; when a new fleet was deſcried from the ſouth, crowding all their ſail to reach the ſcene of action. The Dutch flattered themſelves that Beaufort was arrived, to cut off the retreat of the vanquiſhed: The Engliſh hoped that prince Rupert had come to turn the ſcale of action. Albemarle, who had received intelligence of the prince's approach, bent

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his courſe towards him. Unhappily, ſir George Ayſcue, in a ſhip of a hundred guns, the largeſt in the fleet, ſtruck on the Galloper ſands, and could receive no aſſiſtance from his friends, who were haſtening to join the reinforcement. He could not even reap the conſolation of periſhing with honour, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing fireſhips to attack him, and he was obliged to ſtrike. The Engliſh ſailors, ſeeing the neceſſity, with the utmoſt indignation ſurrendered themſelves priſoners.

Albemarle and prince Rupert were now determined to face the enemy; and next morning the battle began afreſh, with more equal force than ever, and with equal valour. After a long cannonading, the fleets came to a cloſe combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a miſt. The Engliſh retired firſt into their harbours.

Though the Engliſh, by their obſtinate courage, reaped the chief honour in this engagement, it is ſomewhat uncertain who obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ſhips; and having ſome appearances of advantage, expreſſed their ſatisfaction by all the ſigns of triumph and rejoicing. But as the Engliſh fleet was repaired in a little time, and put to ſea more formidable than ever, together with many of thoſe ſhips which the Dutch had boaſted to have burned or deſtroyed; all Europe ſaw, that thoſe two brave nations were engaged in a conteſt, which was not likely, on either ſide, to prove deciſive.

It was the conjunction alone of the French, that could give a deciſive ſuperiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, de Ruyter, having repaired his fleet, poſted himſelf at the mouth of the Thames. (25th July.) The Engliſh, under prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty ſail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the ſeamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obſtinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white ſquadron of the Engliſh, attacked the Dutch van,

which he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was separated from de Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or design was never certainly known. De Ruyter, with conduct and valour, maintained the combat against the main body of the English; and though overpowered by numbers, kept his station, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and discouraged, his high spirit submitted to a retreat, which yet he conducted with such skill, as to render it equally honourable to himself as the greatest victory. Full of indignation however at yielding the superiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My "God! what a wretch am I? among so many thou-"sand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my "miserable life?" One de Witte, his son-in-law, who stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death, to turn upon the English, and render his life a dear purchase to the victors. But de Ruyter esteemed it more worthy a brave man to persevere to the uttermost, and, as long as possible, to render service to his country. All that night and next day, the English pressed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of de Ruyter, that the latter saved themselves in their harbours.

The loss sustained by the Hollanders in this action was not very considerable; but as violent animosities had broken out between the two admirals, who engaged all the officers on one side or other, the consternation, which took place, was great among the provinces. Tromp's commission was at last taken from him; but though several captains had misbehaved, they were so effectually protected by their friends in the magistracy of the towns, that most of them escaped punishment, many were still continued in their commands.

The English now rode incontestable masters of the sea, and insulted the Dutch in their harbours. A detachment under Holmes was sent into the road of Vlie, and burned a hundred and forty merchantmen, two men

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of war, together with Brandaris, a large and rich village on the coaſt. The Dutch merchants, who loſt by this enterpriſe, uniting themſelves to the Orange faction, exclaimed againſt an adminiſtration, which, they pretended, had brought ſuch diſgrace and ruin on their country. None but the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit could have ſupported itſelf under ſuch a complication of calamities.

The king of France, apprehenſive that the Dutch would ſink under their misfortunes; at leaſt, that de Wit, his friend, might be diſpoſſeſſed of the adminiſtration, haſtened the advance of the duke of Beaufort. The Dutch fleet likewiſe was again equipped; and under the command of de Ruyter, cruiſed near the ſtraits of Dover. Prince Rupert with the Engliſh navy, now ſtronger than ever, came full ſail upon them. The Dutch admiral thought proper to decline the combat, and retired into St. John's road near Bulloigne. Here he ſheltered himſelf, both from the Engliſh, and from a furious ſtorm, which aroſe. Prince Rupert too was obliged to retire into St. Helens; were he ſtayed ſome time, in order to repair the damages which he had ſuſtained. Meanwhile the duke of Beaufort proceeded up the channel, and paſſed the Engliſh fleet unperceived; but he did not find the Dutch, as he expected. De Ruyter had been ſeized with a fever: Many of the chief officers had fallen into ſickneſs: A contagious diſtemper was ſpread through the fleet: And the States thought it neceſſary to recall them into their harbours, before the enemy could be refitted. The French king, anxious for his navy, which, with ſo much care and induſtry, he had lately built, deſpatched orders to Beaufort, to make the beſt of his way to Breſt. That admiral had again the good fortune to paſs the Engliſh. One ſhip alone, the Ruby, fell into the hands of the enemy.

While the war continued without any deciſive ſucceſs on either ſide, a calamity happened in London *, which threw the people into great conſternation. Fire, break-

* 3d September.

ing out in a baker's houſe near the bridge, ſpread itſelf on all ſides with ſuch rapidity, that no efforts could extinguiſh it, till it laid in aſhes a conſiderable part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to provide effectually for their relief, were reduced to be ſpectators of their own ruin; and were purſued from ſtreet to ſtreet by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houſes that it was at laſt extinguiſhed. The king and duke uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the flames; but all their induſtry was unſucceſsful. About four hundred ſtreets, and thirteen thouſand houſes, were reduced to aſhes.

The cauſes of this calamity were evident. The narrow ſtreets of London, the houſes built entirely of wood, the dry ſeaſon, and a violent eaſt wind which blew; theſe were ſo many concurring circumſtances, which rendered it eaſy to aſſign the reaſon of the deſtruction that enſued. But the people were not ſatisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, ſome aſcribed the guilt to the republicans, others to the catholics; though it is not eaſy to conceive how the burning of London could ſerve the purpoſes of either party. As the papiſts were the chief objects of public deteſtation, the rumour, which threw the guilt on them, was more favourably received by the people. No proof however, or even preſumption, after the ſtricteſt inquiry by a committee of parliament, ever appeared to authoriſe ſuch a calumny; yet, in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inſcription, engraved by authority on the Monument, aſcribed this calamity to that hated ſect. This clauſe was erazed by order of king James, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obſtinate, are the people, in believing every thing which flatters their prevailing paſſion!

The fire of London, though at that time a great calamity, has proved in the iſſue beneficial both to the city and the kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very little

little time; and care was taken to make the ſtreets wider and more regular than before. A diſcretionary power was aſſumed by the king to regulate the diſtribution of the buildings, and to forbid the uſe of lath and timber, the materials of which the houſes were formerly compoſed. The neceſſity was ſo urgent, and the occaſion ſo extraordinary, that no exceptions were taken at an exerciſe of authority, which otherwiſe might have been deemed illegal. Had the king been enabled to carry his power ſtill farther, and made the houſes be rebuilt with perfect regularity, and entirely upon one plan; he had much contributed to the convenience, as well as embelliſhment, of the city. Great advantages, however, have reſulted from the alterations, though not carried to the full length. London became much more healthy after the fire. The plague, which uſed to break out with great fury twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in ſome corner or other of the city, has ſcarcely ever appeared ſince that calamity.

The parliament met ſoon after, and gave the ſanction of law to thoſe regulations made by royal authority; as well as appointed commiſſioners for deciding all ſuch queſtions of property, as might ariſe from the fire. They likewiſe voted a ſupply of 1,800,000 pounds, to be levied, partly by a poll-bill, partly by aſſeſſments. Though their inquiry brought out no proofs, which could fix on the papiſts the burning of London, the general averſion againſt that ſect ſtill prevailed; and complaints were made, probably without much foundation, of its dangerous increaſe. Charles, at the deſire of the commons, iſſued a proclamation for the baniſhment of all prieſts and jeſuits; but the bad execution of this, as well as of former edicts, deſtroyed all confidence in his ſincerity, whenever he pretended an averſion towards the catholic religion. Whether ſuſpicions of this nature had diminiſhed the king's popularity, is uncertain; but it appears, that the ſupply was voted much later than Charles expected, or even than the public neceſſities ſeemed to require. The intrigues of the duke of Buckingham, a man who wanted only

ſteadineſs to render him extremely dangerous, had ſomewhat embarraſſed the meaſures of the court; and this was the firſt time that the king found any conſiderable reaſon to complain of a failure of confidence in this houſe of commons. The riſing ſymptoms of ill-humour tended, no doubt, to quicken the ſteps, which were already making towards a peace with foreign enemies.

(1667.) Charles began to be ſenſible, that all the ends, for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove entirely abortive. The Dutch, even when ſingle, had defended themſelves with vigour, and were every day improving in their military ſkill and preparations. Though their trade had ſuffered extremely, their extenſive credit enabled them to levy great ſums; and while the ſeamen of England loudly complained for want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly ſupplied with money and every thing requiſite for its ſubſiſtence. As two powerful kings now ſupported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coaſts of Bayonne, was become hoſtile to the Engliſh. And Charles, neither fond of action, nor ſtimulated by any violent ambition, earneſtly ſought for means of reſtoring tranquillity to his people, diſguſted with a war, which, being joined with the plague and fire, had proved ſo fruitleſs and deſtructive.

The firſt advances towards an accommodation were made by England. When the king ſent for the body of ſir William Berkeley, he inſinuated to the States his deſire of peace on reaſonable terms; and their anſwer correſponded in the ſame amicable intentions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of ſuperiority, ſtill inſiſted that the States ſhould treat at London; and they agreed to make him this compliment ſo far as concerned themſelves: But being engaged in alliance with two crowned heads, they could not, they ſaid, prevail with theſe to depart in that reſpect from their dignity. On a ſudden, the king went ſo far on the other ſide as to offer the ſending of ambaſſadors to the Hague; but this propoſal, which ſeemed honourable to the Dutch, was meant

meant only to divide and distract them, by affording the English an opportunity to carry on cabals with the disaffected party. The offer was therefore rejected; and conferences were secretly held in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, where the pretensions of both parties were discussed. The Dutch made equitable proposals; either that all things should be restored to the same condition in which they stood before the war; or that both parties should continue in possession of their present acquisitions. Charles accepted of the latter proposal; and almost every thing was adjusted, except the disputes with regard to the isle of Polerone. This island lies in the East Indies, and was formerly valuable for its produce of spices. The English had been masters of it; but were dispossessed at the time when the violences were committed against them at Amboyna. Cromwel had stipulated to have it restored; and the Hollanders, having first entirely destroyed all the spice trees, maintained, that they had executed the treaty, but that the English had been anew expelled during the course of the war. Charles renewed his pretensions to this island; and as the reasons on both sides began to multiply, and seemed to require a long discussion, it was agreed to transfer the treaty to some other place; and Charles made choice of Breda.

Lord Hollis and Henry Coventry were the English ambassadors. They immediately desired, that a suspension of arms should be agreed to, till the several claims should be adjusted: But this proposal, seemingly so natural, was rejected by the credit of de Wit. That penetrating and active minister, thoroughly acquainted with the characters of princes and the situation of affairs, had discovered an opportunity of striking a blow, which might at once restore to the Dutch the honour lost during the war, and severely revenge those injuries, which he ascribed to the wanton ambition and injustice of the English.

Whatever projects might have been formed by Charles for secreting the money granted him by parliament, he had hitherto failed in his intention. The expenses of

such

ſuch vaſt armaments had exhauſted all the ſupplies *; and even a great debt was contracted to the ſeamen. The king therefore was reſolved to ſave, as far as poſſible, the laſt ſupply of 1,800,000 pounds; and to employ it for payment of his debts, as well thoſe which had been occaſioned by the war, as thoſe which he had formerly contracted. He obſerved, that the Dutch had been with great reluctance forced into the war, and that the events of it were not ſuch as to inſpire them with great deſire of its continuance. The French, he knew, had been engaged into hoſtilities by no other motive than that of ſupporting their ally; and were now more deſirous than ever of putting an end to the quarrel. The differences between the parties were ſo inconſiderable, that the concluſion of peace appeared infallible; and nothing but forms, at leaſt ſome vain points of honour, ſeemed to remain for the ambaſſadors at Breda to diſcuſs. In this ſituation, Charles, moved by an ill-timed frugality, remitted his preparations, and expoſed England to one of the greateſt affronts which it has ever received. Two ſmall ſquadrons alone were equipped; and during a war with ſuch potent and martial enemies, every thing was left almoſt in the ſame ſituation as in times of the moſt profound tranquillity.

De Wit protracted the negotiations at Breda, and haſtened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of de Ruyter, and threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt conſternation. A chain had been drawn acroſs the river Medway; ſome fortifications had been added to Sheerneſs and Upnore-caſtle: But all theſe preparations were unequal to the preſent neceſſity. Sheerneſs was ſoon taken; nor could it be ſaved by the valour of ſir Edward Sprague,

* The Dutch had ſpent on the war near 40 millions of livres a-year, above three millions ſterling: A much greater ſum than had been granted by the Engliſh parliament. It was probably the want of money which engaged the king to pay the ſeamen with tickets; a contrivance which proved ſo much to their loſs.

who

who defended it. (10th June.) Having the advantage of a ſpring tide and an eaſterly wind, the Dutch preſſed on, and broke the chain, though fortified by ſome ſhips, which had been there ſunk by orders of the duke of Albemarle. They burned the three ſhips, which lay to guard the chain, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth. After damaging ſeveral veſſels, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the Engliſh had burned, they advanced with ſix men of war and five fire-ſhips, as far as Upnore-caſtle, where they burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, periſhed in the flames, though he had an eaſy opportunity of eſcaping. "Never was it known," he ſaid, "that a Douglas had left his poſt without orders." The Hollanders fell down the Medway without receiving any conſiderable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tide ſail up the Thames, and extend their hoſtilities even to the bridge of London. Nine ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall: Platforms were raiſed in many places, furniſhed with artillery: The train-bands were called out; and every place was in a violent agitation. The Dutch ſailed next to Portſmouth, where they made a fruitleſs attempt: They met with no better ſucceſs at Plymouth: They inſulted Harwich: They ſailed again upon the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulſed. The whole coaſt was in alarm; and had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet, and to invade England, conſequences the moſt fatal might juſtly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to puſh the victory to ſuch extremities. His intereſt required that a balance ſhould be kept between the two maritime powers; not that an uncontroiled ſuperiority ſhould be given to either.

Great indignation prevailed amongſt the Engliſh, to ſee an enemy, whom they regarded as inferior, whom they had expected totally to ſubdue, and over whom they had

had gained many honourable advantages, now of a ſudden ride undiſputed maſters of the ocean, burn their ſhips in their very harbours, fill every place with confuſion, and ſtrike a terror into the capital itſelf. But though the cauſe of all theſe diſaſters could be aſcribed neither to bad fortune, to the miſconduct of admirals, nor to the ill behaviour of ſeamen, but ſolely to the avarice, at leaſt to the improvidence, of the government; no dangerous ſymptoms of diſcontent appeared, and no attempt for an inſurrection was made by any of thoſe numerous ſectaries, who had been ſo openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who upon that ſuppoſition had been treated with ſuch ſeverity *.

In the preſent diſtreſs, two expedients were embraced: An army of 12,000 men was ſuddenly levied; and the parliament, though it lay under prorogation, was ſummoned to meet. The houſes were very thin; and the only vote, which the commons paſſed, was an addreſs for breaking the army; which was complied with. This expreſſion of jealouſy ſhowed the court what they might expect from that aſſembly; and it was thought more prudent to prorogue them till next winter.

(10th July.) But the ſigning of the treaty at Breda extricated the king from his preſent difficulties. The Engliſh ambaſſadors received orders to recede from thoſe demands, which, however frivolous in themſelves, could not now be relinquiſhed, without acknowledging a ſuperiority in the enemy. Polerone remained with the Dutch; ſatisfaction for the ſhips Bonaventure and Goodhope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer inſiſted on: Acadie was yielded to the French. The acquiſition of New-York, a ſettlement ſo important by its ſituation, was the chief advantage which the Engliſh reaped from a war, in which the national cha-

* Some nonconformiſts, however, both in Scotland and England, had kept a correſpondence with the States and had entertained projects for inſurrections, but they were too weak even to attempt the execution of them.

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racter of bravery had shone out with lustre, but where the misconduct of the government, especially in the conclusion, had been no less apparent.

To appease the people by some sacrifice seemed requisite before the meeting of parliament; and the prejudices of the nation pointed out the victim. The chancellor was at this time much exposed to the hatred of the public, and of every party which divided the nation. All the numerous sectaries regarded him as their determined enemy; and ascribed to his advice and influence those persecuting laws, to which they had lately been exposed. The catholics knew that, while he retained any authority, all their credit with the king and the duke would be entirely useless to them, nor must they ever expect any favour or indulgence. Even the royalists, disappointed in their sanguine hopes of preferment, threw a great load of envy on Clarendon, into whose hands the king seemed at first to have resigned the whole power of government. The sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, the disgrace at Chatham, the unsuccessful conclusion of the war; all these misfortunes were charged on the chancellor, who, though he had ever opposed the rupture with Holland, thought it still his duty to justify what he could not prevent. A building, likewise, of more expense and magnificence than his slender fortune could afford, being unwarily undertaken by him, much exposed him to public reproach, as if he had acquired great riches by corruption. The populace gave it commonly the appellation of Dunkirk house.

The king himself, who had always more revered than loved the chancellor, was now totally estranged from him. Amidst the dissolute manners of the court, that minister still maintained an inflexible dignity, and would not submit to any condescensions, which he deemed unworthy of his age and character. Buckingham, a man of profligate morals, happy in his talent for ridicule, but exposed in his own conduct to all the ridicule which he threw on others, still made him the object of his raillery, and gradually lessened in the king that regard which he bore to his minister. When any difficulties arose, either for want

want of power or money, the blame was ſtill thrown on him, who, it was believed, had carefully at the reſtoration checked all laviſh conceſſions to the king. And what perhaps touched Charles more nearly, he found in Clarendon, it is ſaid, obſtacles to his pleaſures as well as to his ambition.

The king, diſguſted with the homely perſon of his conſort, and deſirous of having children, had hearkened to propoſals of obtaining a divorce, on pretence either of her being pre-engaged to another, or of having made a vow of chaſtity before her marriage. He was farther ſtimulated by his paſſion for Mrs. Stuart, daughter of a Scotch gentleman; a lady of great beauty, and whoſe virtue he had hitherto found impregnable: But Clarendon, apprehenſive of the conſequences attending a diſputed title, and perhaps anxious for the ſucceſſion of his own grandchildren, engaged the duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and thereby put an end to the king's hopes. It is pretended that Charles never forgave this diſappointment.

When politics, therefore, and inclination both concurred to make the king ſacrifice Clarendon to popular prejudices, the memory of his paſt ſervices was not able any longer to delay his fall. The great ſeal was taken from him, and given to ſir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of lord keeper. Southampton, the treaſurer, was now dead, who had perſevered to the utmoſt in his attachments to the chancellor. The laſt time he appeared at the council-table, he exerted his friendſhip with a vigour which neither age nor infirmities could abate. "This man," ſaid he, ſpeaking of Clarendon, "is a "true proteſtant and an honeſt Engliſhman; and while "he enjoys power, we are ſecure of our laws, liberties, "and religion. I dread the conſequences of his re-"moval."

But the fall of the chancellor was not ſufficient to gratify the malice of his enemies: His total ruin was reſolved on. The duke of York in vain exerted his intereſt in behalf of his father-in-law. Both prince and people united in promoting that violent meaſure; and no means

means were thought ſo proper for ingratiating the court with a parliament, which had ſo long been governed by that very miniſter, who was now to be the victim of their prejudices.

Some popular acts paved the way for the ſeſſion; and the parliament, in their firſt addreſs, gave the king thanks for theſe inſtances of his goodneſs; and, among the reſt, they took care to mention his diſmiſſion of Clarendon. The king, in reply, aſſured the houſes, that he would never again employ that nobleman in any public office whatſoever. Immediately, the charge againſt him was opened in the houſe of commons by Mr. Seymour, afterwards ſir Edward, and conſiſted of ſeventeen articles. The houſe, without examining particulars, farther than hearing general affirmations, that all would be proved, immediately voted his impeachment. Many of the articles * we know to be either falſe or frivolous; and ſuch of them as we are leſs acquainted with, we may fairly preſume to be no better grounded. His adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk, ſeems the heavieſt and trueſt part of the charge; but a miſtake in judgment, allowing it to be ſuch, where there appear no ſymptoms of corruption or bad intention, it would be very hard to impute as a crime to any miniſter. The king's neceſſities, which occaſioned that meaſure, cannot, with any appearance of reaſon, be charged on Clarendon; and chiefly proceeded from the over-frugal maxims of the parliament itſelf, in not granting the proper ſupplies to the crown.

When the impeachment was carried up to the peers, as it contained an accuſation of treaſon in general, without ſpecifying any particulars, it ſeemed not a ſufficient ground for committing Clarendon to cuſtody. The precedents of Strafford and Laud were not, by reaſon of the violence of the times, deemed a proper authority; but as the commons ſtill inſiſted upon his commitment, it was neceſſary to appoint a free conference between the houſes. The lords perſevered in their reſolution; and the commons voted this conduct to be an obſtruction to public

* See note [G] at the end of the volume.

juſtice, and a precedent of evil and dangerous tendency. They alſo choſe a committee to draw up a vindication of their own proceedings.

Clarendon, finding that the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, ran with impetuoſity againſt him, and that a defence, offered to ſuch prejudiced ears, would be entirely ineffectual, thought proper to withdraw. At Calais, he wrote a paper addreſſed to the houſe of lords. He there ſaid, that his fortune, which was but moderate, had been gained entirely by the lawful, avowed profits of his office, and by the voluntary bounty of the king; that during the firſt years after the reſtoration he had always concurred in opinion with the other counſellors, men of ſuch reputation that no one could entertain ſuſpicions of their wiſdom or integrity; that his credit ſoon declined, and however he might diſapprove of ſome meaſures, he found it vain to oppoſe them; that his repugnance to the Dutch war, the ſource of all the public grievances, was always generally known, as well as his diſapprobation of many unhappy ſteps taken in conducting it; and that whatever pretence might be made of public offences, his real crime, that which had exaſperated his powerful enemies, was his frequent oppoſition to exorbitant grants, which the importunity of ſuitors had extorted from his majeſty.

The lords tranſmitted this paper to the commons under the appellation of a libel; and by a vote of both houſes, it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The parliament next proceeded to exert their legiſlative power againſt Clarendon, and paſſed a bill of baniſhment and incapacity, which received the royal aſſent. He retired into France, where he lived in a private manner. He ſurvived his baniſhment ſix years; and he employed his leiſure chiefly in reducing into order the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. The performance does honour to his memory; and, except Whitlocke's Memorials, is the moſt candid account of thoſe times, compoſed by any cotemporary author.

Clarendon

Clarendon was always a friend to the liberty and conſtitution of his country. At the commencement of the civil wars, he had entered into the late king's ſervice, and was honoured with a great ſhare in the eſteem and friendſhip of that monarch: He was purſued with unrelenting animoſity by the long parliament: He had ſhared all the fortunes, and directed all the counſels, of the preſent king during his exile: He had been advanced to the higheſt truſt and offices after the reſtoration: Yet all theſe circumſtances, which might naturally operate with ſuch force, either on reſentment, gratitude, or ambition, had no influence on his uncorrupted mind. It is ſaid, that when he firſt engaged in the ſtudy of the law, his father exhorted him with great earneſtneſs to ſhun the practice too common in that profeſſion, of ſtraining every point in favour of prerogative, and perverting ſo uſeful a ſcience to the oppreſſion of liberty: And in the midſt of theſe rational and virtuous counſels, which he reiterated, he was ſuddenly ſeized with an apoplexy, and expired in his ſon's preſence. This circumſtance gave additional weight to the principles which he inculcated.

The combination of king and ſubject to oppreſs ſo good a miniſter affords, to men of oppoſite diſpoſitions, an equal occaſion of inveighing againſt the ingratitude of princes, or ignorance of the people. Charles ſeems never to have mitigated his reſentment againſt Clarendon; and the national prejudices purſued him to his retreat in France. A company of Engliſh ſoldiers, being quartered near him, aſſaulted his houſe, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the laſt extremities, had not their officers, hearing of the violence, happily interpoſed.

(1668.) The next expedient which the king embraced, in order to acquire popularity, is more deſerving of praiſe; and, had it been ſteadily purſued, would probably have rendered his reign happy, certainly his memory reſpected. It is the Triple Alliance of which I ſpeak; a meaſure, which gave entire ſatisfaction to the public.

The glory of France, which had long been eclipſed, either by domeſtic factions, or by the ſuperior force of the Spaniſh monarchy, began now to break out with great luſtre, and to engage the attention of the neighbouring nations. The independent power and mutinous ſpirit of the nobility were ſubdued: The popular pretenſions of the parliament reſtrained: The Hugonot party reduced to ſubjection: That extenſive and fertile country, enjoying every advantage both of climate and ſituation, was fully peopled with ingenious and induſtrious inhabitants: And while the ſpirit of the nation diſcovered all the vigour and bravery requiſite for great enterpriſes, it was tamed to an entire ſubmiſſion under the will of the ſovereign.

The ſovereign who now filled the throne was well adapted, by his perſonal character, both to increaſe and to avail himſelf of theſe advantages. Lewis XIV., endowed with every quality which could enchant the people, poſſeſſed many which merit the approbation of the wiſe. The maſculine beauty of his perſon was embelliſhed with a noble air: The dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeneſs: Elegant without effeminacy, addicted to pleaſure without neglecting buſineſs, decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midſt of arbitrary power, he ſurpaſſed all cotemporary monarchs, as in grandeur, ſo likewiſe in fame and glory.

His ambition, regulated by prudence, not by juſtice, had carefully provided every means of conqueſt; and before he put himſelf in motion, he ſeemed to have abſolutely enſured ſucceſs. His finances were brought into order: A naval power created: His armies increaſed and diſciplined: Magazines and military ſtores provided: And though the magnificence of his court was ſupported beyond all former example, ſo regular was the economy obſerved, and ſo willingly did the people, now enriched by arts and commerce, ſubmit to multiplied taxes, that his military force much exceeded what in any preceding age had ever been employed by any European monarch.

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The ſudden decline and almoſt total fall of the Spaniſh monarchy, opened an inviting field to ſo enterpriſing a prince, and ſeemed to promiſe him eaſy and extenſive conqueſts. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill-governed, were aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of his riſing empire; and all of them caſt their eyes towards England, as the only power which could ſave them from that ſubjection with which they ſeemed to be ſo nearly threatened.

The animoſity which had anciently ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and French nations, and which had been ſuſpended for above a century by the jealouſy of Spaniſh greatneſs, began to revive and to exert itſelf. The glory of preſerving the balance of Europe, a glory ſo much founded on juſtice and humanity, flattered the ambition of England; and the people were eager to provide for their own future ſecurity, by oppoſing the progreſs of ſo hated a rival. The proſpect of embracing ſuch meaſures had contributed, among other reaſons, to render the peace of Breda ſo univerſally acceptable to the nation. By the death of Philip IV. king of Spain, an inviting opportunity, and ſome very ſlender pretences, had been afforded to call forth the ambition of Lewis.

At the treaty of the Pyrenees, when Lewis eſpouſed the Spaniſh princeſs, he had renounced every title of ſucceſſion to every part of the Spaniſh monarchy; and this renunciation had been couched in the moſt accurate and moſt preciſe terms that language could afford. But, on the death of his father-in-law, he retracted his renunciation, and pretended that natural rights, depending on blood and ſucceſſion, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a ſon, Charles II. of Spain; but as the queen of France was of a former marriage, ſhe laid claim to a conſiderable province of the Spaniſh monarchy, even to the excluſion of her brother. By the cuſtoms of ſome parts of Brabant, a female of a firſt marriage was preferred to a male of a ſecond, in the ſucceſſion to private inheritances; and Lewis thence inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the dominion of that important dutchy.

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A claim of this nature was more properly ſupported by military force than by argument and reaſoning. Lewis appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands with an army of 40,000 men, commanded by the beſt generals of the age, and provided with every thing neceſſary for action. The Spaniards, though they might have foreſeen this meaſure, were totally unprepared. Their towns, without magazines, fortifications, or garriſons, fell into the hands of the French king, as ſoon as he preſented himſelf before them. Athe, Liſle, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Charleroi, Binche, were immediately taken: And it was viſible that no force in the Low Countries was able to ſtop or retard the progreſs of the French arms.

This meaſure, executed with ſuch celerity and ſucceſs, gave great alarm to almoſt every court in Europe. It had been obſerved with what dignity, or even haughtineſs, Lewis, from the time he began to govern, had ever ſupported all his rights and pretenſions. D'Eſtrades, the French ambaſſador, and Watteville, the Spaniſh, having quarrelled in London, on account of their claims for precedency, the French monarch was not ſatisfied till Spain ſent to Paris a ſolemn embaſſy, and promiſed never more to revive ſuch conteſts. Crequi, his ambaſſador at Rome, had met with an affront from the pope's guards: The pope, Alexander VII. had been conſtrained to break his guards, to ſend his nephew to aſk pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itſelf, as a monument of his own humiliation. The king of England too had experienced the high ſpirit and unſubmitting temper of Lewis. A pretenſion to ſuperiority in the Engliſh flag having been advanced, the French monarch remonſtrated with ſuch vigour, and prepared himſelf to reſiſt with ſuch courage, that Charles found it more prudent to deſiſt from his vain and antiquated claims. The king of England, ſaid Lewis to his ambaſſador D'Eſtrades, may know my force, but he knows not the ſentiments of my heart: Every thing appears to me contemptible in compariſon of glory. Theſe meaſures of conduct had given ſtrong indications of his character: But the invaſion

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of Flanders discovered an ambition which, being supported by such overgrown power, menaced the general liberties of Europe.

As no state lay nearer the danger, none was seized with more terror than the United Provinces. They were still engaged, together with France, in a war against England; and Lewis had promised them that he would take no step against Spain without previously informing them: But, contrary to this assurance, he kept a total silence, till on the very point of entering upon action. If the renunciation made at the treaty of the Pyrenees was not valid, it was foreseen, that upon the death of the king of Spain, a sickly infant, the whole monarchy would be claimed by Lewis, after which it would be vainly expected to set bounds to his pretensions. Charles, acquainted with these well-grounded apprehensions of the Dutch, had been the more obstinate in insisting on his own conditions at Breda; and by delaying to sign the treaty, had imprudently exposed himself to the signal disgrace which he received at Chatham. De Wit, sensible that a few weeks delay would be of no consequence in the Low Countries, took this opportunity of striking an important blow, and of finishing the war with honour to himself and to his country.

Negotiations meanwhile commenced for the saving of Flanders; but no resistance was made to the French arms. The Spanish ministers exclaimed every-where against the flagrant injustice of Lewis's pretensions, and represented it to be the interest of every power in Europe, even more than of Spain itself, to prevent his conquest of the Low Countries. The emperor and the German princes discovered evident symptoms of discontent; but their motions were slow and backward. The States, though terrified at the prospect of having their frontier exposed to so formidable a foe, saw no resource, no means of safety. England indeed seemed disposed to make opposition to the French; but the variable and impolitic conduct of Charles kept that republic from making him any open advances, by which she might lose the friendship of France, without acquiring any new ally. And though

though Lewis, dreading a combination of all Europe, had offered terms of accommodation, the Dutch apprehended, leſt theſe, either from the obſtinacy of the Spaniards, or the ambition of the French, ſhould never be carried into execution.

Charles reſolved with great prudence to take the firſt ſtep towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his reſident at Bruſſels, received orders to go ſecretly to the Hague, and to concert with the States the means of ſaving the Netherlands. This man, whom philoſophy had taught to deſpiſe the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, ſincere, ſuperior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians: And meeting in de Wit with a man of the ſame generous and enlarged ſentiments, he immediately opened his maſter's intentions, and preſſed a ſpeedy concluſion. A treaty was from the firſt negotiated between theſe two ſtateſmen with the ſame cordiality as if it were a private tranſaction between intimate companions. Deeming the intereſts of their country the ſame, they gave full ſcope to that ſympathy of character which diſpoſed them to an entire reliance on each other's profeſſions and engagements. And though jealouſy againſt the houſe of Orange might inſpire de Wit with an averſion to a ſtrict union with England, he generouſly reſolved to ſacrifice all private conſiderations to the public ſervice.

Temple inſiſted on an offenſive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquiſh all her conqueſts: But de Wit told him, that this meaſure was too bold and precipitate to be agreed to by the States. He ſaid, that the French were the old and conſtant allies of the republic; and, till matters came to extremities, ſhe never would deem it prudent to abandon a friendſhip ſo well eſtabliſhed, and rely entirely on a treaty with England, which had lately waged ſo cruel a war againſt her: That ever ſince the reign of Elizabeth, there had been ſuch a fluctuation in the Engliſh councils, that it was not poſſible, for two years together, to take any ſure or certain meaſures with that kingdom: That though the preſent miniſtry, having entered into views ſo con-

conformable to national intereſt, promiſed greater firmneſs and conſtancy, it might ſtill be unſafe, in a buſineſs of ſuch conſequence, to put entire confidence in them: That the French monarch was young, haughty, and powerful; and if treated in ſo imperious a manner, would expoſe himſelf to the greateſt extremities rather than ſubmit: That it was ſufficient, if he could be conſtrained to adhere to the offers which he himſelf had already made; and if the remaining provinces of the Low Countries could thereby be ſaved from the danger, with which they were at preſent threatened: And that the other powers, in Germany and the north, whoſe aſſiſtance they might expect, would be ſatisfied with putting a ſtop to the French conqueſts, without pretending to recover the places already loſt.

The Engliſh miniſter was content to accept of the terms propoſed by the penſionary. Lewis had offered to relinquiſh all the queen's rights, on condition either of keeping the conqueſts which he had made laſt campaign, or of receiving, in lieu of them, Franchecomté, together with Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon this propoſal. They agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept of it. If Spain refuſed, they agreed, that France ſhould not proſecute her claim by arms, but leave it entirely to England and Holland to employ force for making the terms effectual. And the remainder of the Low Countries they thenceforth guaranteed to Spain. A defenſive alliance was likewiſe concluded between Holland and England.

The articles of this confederacy were ſoon adjuſted by ſuch candid and able negotiators: But the greateſt difficulty ſtill remained. By the conſtitution of the republic, all the towns in all the provinces muſt give their conſent to every alliance; and beſides that this formality could not be deſpatched in leſs than two months, it was juſtly to be dreaded, that the influence of France would obſtruct the paſſing of the treaty in ſome of the ſmaller cities. D'Eſtrades, the French ambaſſador, a man of abilities,

abilities, hearing of the league which was on the carpet, treated it lightly; "Six weeks hence," said he, "we "shall speak to it." To obviate this difficulty, de Wit had the courage, for the public good, to break through the laws in so fundamental an article; and by his authority, he prevailed with the States General at once to sign and ratify the league: Though they acknowledged that, if that measure should displease their constituents, they risked their heads by this irregularity. (13th Jan.) After sealing, all parties embraced with great cordiality. Temple cried out, *At Breda, as friends: Here, as brothers.* And de Wit added, that now the matter was finished it looked like a miracle.

Room had been left in the treaty for the accession of Sweden, which was soon after obtained; and thus was concluded in five days the triple league; an event received with equal surprise and approbation by the world. Notwithstanding the unfortunate conclusion of the last war, England now appeared in her proper station, and, by this wise conduct, had recovered all her influence and credit in Europe. Temple likewise received great applause; but to all the compliments made him on the occasion, he modestly replied, that to remove things from their centre, or proper element, required force and labour; but that of themselves they easily returned to it.

The French monarch was extremely displeased with this measure. Not only bounds were at present set to his ambition: Such a barrier was also raised as seemed for ever impregnable. And though his own offer was made the foundation of the treaty, he had prescribed so short a time for the acceptance of it, that he still expected, from the delays and reluctance of Spain, to find some opportunity for eluding it. The court of Madrid showed equal displeasure. To relinquish any part of the Spanish provinces, in lieu of claims, so apparently unjust, and these urged with such violence and haughtiness, inspired the highest disgust. Often did the Spaniards threaten to abandon entirely the Low Countries, rather than submit to so cruel a mortification; and they endeavoured, by this

this menace, to terrify the mediating powers into more vigorous measures for their support. But Temple and de Wit were better acquainted with the views and interests of Spain. They knew, that she must still retain the Low Countries, as a bond of connexion with the other European powers, who alone, if her young monarch should happen to die without issue, could insure her independency against the pretensions of France. They still urged, therefore, the terms of the triple league, and threatened Spain with war in case of refusal. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Temple was minister for England; Van Beuninghen for Holland; D'Ohna for Sweden.

Spain at last, pressed on all hands, accepted of the alternative offered; but in her very compliance she gave strong symptoms of ill-humour and discontent. It had been apparent, that the Hollanders, entirely neglecting the honour of the Spanish monarch, had been anxious only for their own security; and, provided they could remove Lewis to a distance from their frontier, were more indifferent what progress he made in other places. Sensible of these views, the queen-regent of Spain resolved still to keep them in an anxiety, which might for the future be the foundation of an union more intimate than they were willing at present to enter into. Franche-comté, by a vigorous and well-concerted plan of the French king, had been conquered, in fifteen days, during a rigorous season, and in the midst of winter. She chose, therefore, to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the last campaign. By this means, Lewis extended his garrisons into the heart of the Low Countries; and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spanish provinces.

But notwithstanding the advantages of his situation, the French monarch could entertain small hopes of ever extending his conquests on that quarter which lay the most exposed to his ambition, and where his acquisitions were of most importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces to Spain, and the emperor and other

other powers of Germany, whoſe intereſt ſeemed to be intimately concerned, were invited to enter into the ſame confederacy. Spain herſelf, having, about this time, under the mediation of Charles, made peace on equal terms with Portugal, might be expected to exert more vigour and oppoſition to her haughty and triumphant rival. The great ſatisfaction, expreſſed in England, on account of the counſels now embraced by the court, promiſed the hearty concurrence of parliament in every meaſure which could be propoſed for oppoſition to the grandeur of France. And thus all Europe ſeemed to repoſe herſelf with ſecurity under the wings of that powerful confederacy, which had been ſo happily formed for her protection. It is now time to give ſome account of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland and in Ireland.

The Scottiſh nation, though they had never been ſubject to the arbitrary power of their prince, had but very imperfect notions of law and liberty; and ſcarcely in any age had they ever enjoyed an adminiſtration, which had confined itſelf within the proper boundaries. By their final union alone with England, their once hated adverſary, they have happily attained the experience of a government perfectly regular, and exempt from all violence and injuſtice. Charles, from his averſion to buſineſs, had intruſted the affairs of that country to his miniſters, particularly Middleton; and theſe could not forbear making very extraordinary ſtretches of authority,

There had been intercepted a letter, written by lord Lorne to lord Duffus, in which, a little too plainly, but very truly, he complained, that his enemies had endeavoured by falſehood to prepoſſeſs the king againſt him. But he ſaid, that he had now diſcovered them, had defeated them, and had gained the perſon, meaning the earl of Clarendon, upon whom the chief of them depended. This letter was produced before the parliament; and Lorne was tried upon an old tyrannical, abſurd law againſt *Leaſing-making*; by which it was rendered criminal to belie the ſubjects of the king, or create

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in him an ill opinion of them. He was condemned to die: But Charles was much diſpleaſed with the ſentence, and granted him a pardon.

It was carried in parliament, that twelve perſons, without crime, witneſs, trial, or accuſer, ſhould be declared incapable of all truſt or office; and to render this injuſtice more egregious, it was agreed, that theſe perſons ſhould be named by ballot: A method of voting which ſeveral republics had adopted at elections, in order to prevent faction and intrigue; but which could ſerve only as a cover to malice and iniquity, in the inflicting of puniſhments. Lauderdale, Crawford, and ſir Robert Murray, among others, were incapacitated: But the king, who diſapproved of this injuſtice, refuſed his aſſent.

An act was paſſed againſt all perſons, who ſhould move the king for reſtoring the children of thoſe who were attainted by parliament; an unheard-of reſtraint on applications for grace and mercy. No penalty was affixed; but the act was but the more violent and tyrannical on that account. The court-lawyers had eſtabliſhed it as a maxim, that the aſſigning of a puniſhment was a limitation of the crown: Whereas a law, forbidding any thing, though without a penalty, made the offenders criminal. And in that caſe, they determined, that the puniſhment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. Middleton as commiſſioner paſſed this act; though he had no inſtructions for that purpoſe.

An act of indemnity paſſed; but at the ſame time it was voted, that all thoſe who had offended during the late diſorders, ſhould be ſubjected to fines; and a committee of parliament was appointed for impoſing them. Theſe proceeded without any regard to ſome equitable rules, which the king had preſcribed to them. The moſt obnoxious compounded ſecretly. No conſideration was had, either of men's riches, or of the degrees of their guilt: No proofs were produced: Inquiries were not ſo much as made: But as faſt as information was given in againſt any man, he was marked down for a particular

fine: And all was tranſacted in a ſecret committee. When the liſt was read in parliament, exceptions were made to ſeveral: Some had been under age during the civil wars; ſome had been abroad. But it was ſtill replied, that a proper time would come, when every man ſhould be heard in his own defence. The only intention, it was ſaid, of ſetting the fines was, that ſuch perſons ſhould have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unleſs they paid the ſum demanded: Every one that choſe to ſtand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, might do it at his peril. It was well known, that no one would dare ſo far to ſet at defiance ſo arbitrary an adminiſtration. The king wrote to the council, ordering them to ſuperſede the levying of thoſe fines: But Middleton found means, during ſome time, to elude theſe orders. And, at laſt, the king obliged his miniſters to compound for half the ſums which had been impoſed. In all theſe tranſactions, and in moſt others which paſſed during the preſent reign, we ſtill find the moderating hand of the king, interpoſed to protect the Scots from the oppreſſions which their own countrymen, employed in the miniſtry, were deſirous of exerciſing over them.

But the chief circumſtance whence were derived all the ſubſequent tyranny and diſorders in Scotland, was the execution of the laws for the eſtabliſhment of epiſcopacy; a mode of government to which a great part of the nation had entertained an unſurmountable averſion. The rights of patrons had for ſome years been aboliſhed; and the power of electing miniſters had been veſted in the kirk-ſeſſion and lay elders. It was now enacted, that all incumbents, who had been admitted upon this title, ſhould receive a preſentation from the patron, and ſhould be inſtituted anew by the biſhop, under the penalty of deprivation. The more rigid preſbyterians concerted meaſures among themſelves, and refuſed obedience: They imagined, that their number would protect them. Three hundred and fifty pariſhes, above a third of the kingdom, were at once declared vacant. The weſtern countries chiefly were obſtinate in this particular. New miniſters

niſters were ſought for all over the kingdom; and no one was ſo ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who loved extremely and reſpected their former teachers; men remarkable for the ſeverity of their manners, and their fervour in preaching; were inflamed againſt theſe intruders, who had obtained their livings under ſuch invidious circumſtances, and who took no care, by the regularity of their manners, to ſoften the prejudices entertained againſt them. Even moſt of thoſe, who retained their livings by compliance, fell under the imputation of hypocriſy, either by their ſhowing a diſguſt to the new model of eccleſiaſtical government, which they had acknowledged; or, on the other hand, by declaring that their former abhorrence to preſbytery and the covenant had been the reſult of violence and neceſſity. And as Middleton and the new miniſtry indulged themſelves in great riot and diſorder, to which the nation had been little accuſtomed, an opinion univerſally prevailed, that any form of religion, offered by ſuch hands, muſt be profane and impious.

The people, notwithſtanding their diſcontents, were reſolved to give no handle againſt them, by the leaſt ſymptom of mutiny or ſedition: But this ſubmiſſive diſpoſition, inſtead of procuring a mitigation of the rigours, was made uſe of as an argument for continuing the ſame meaſures, which, by their vigour, it was pretended, had produced ſo prompt an obedience. The king, however, was diſguſted with the violence of Middleton; and he made Rothes commiſſioner in his place. This nobleman was already preſident of the council; and ſoon after was made lord-keeper and treaſurer. Lauderdale ſtill continued ſecretary of ſtate, and commonly reſided at London.

Affairs remained in a peaceable ſtate, till the ſevere law was made in England againſt conventicles *. The Scottiſh parliament imitated that violence, by paſſing a like act. A kind of high commiſſion court was appointed by the privy-council, for executing this rigorous

* 1664.

law, and for the direction of eccleſiaſtical affairs. But even this court, illegal as it might be deemed, was much preferable to the method next adopted. Military force was let looſe by the council. Wherever the people had generally forſaken their churches, the guards were quartered throughout the country. Sir James Turner commanded them, a man whoſe natural ferocity of temper was often inflamed by the uſe of ſtrong liquors. He went about, and received from the clergy liſts of thoſe who abſented themſelves from church, or were ſuppoſed to frequent conventicles. Without any proof or legal conviction, he demanded a fine from them, and quartered ſoldiers on the ſuppoſed delinquents, till he received payment. As an inſurrection was dreaded during the Dutch war, new forces were levied, and entruſted to the command of Dalziel and Drummond; two officers, who had ſerved the king during the civil wars, and had afterwards engaged in the ſervice of Ruſſia, where they had increaſed the native cruelty of their diſpoſition. A full career was given to their tyranny by the Scottiſh miniſtry. Repreſentations were made to the king againſt theſe enormities. He ſeemed touched with the ſtate of the country; and beſides giving orders, that the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion ſhould be diſcontinued, he ſignified his opinion, that another way of proceeding was neceſſary for his ſervice.

This lenity of the king's came too late to remedy the diſorders. The people, inflamed with bigotry and irritated by ill uſage, roſe in arms. They were inſtigated by Guthry, Semple, and other preachers. They ſurpriſed Turner in Dumfries, and reſolved to have put him to death; but finding, that his orders, which fell into their hands, were more violent than his execution of them, they ſpared his life. At Laneric, after many prayers, they renewed the covenant, and publiſhed their manifeſto; in which they profeſſed all ſubmiſſion to the king: They deſired only the re-eſtabliſhment of preſbytery and of their former miniſters. As many gentlemen of their party had been confined on ſuſpicion, Wallace and Learmont, two officers, who had ſerved, but in no high rank, were entruſted by the populace with the command.

mand. Their force never exceeded two thouſand men; and though the country in general bore them favour, men's ſpirits were ſo ſubdued, that the rebels could expect no farther acceſſion of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppoſe their progreſs. Their number was now diminiſhed to 800; and theſe, having advanced near Edinburgh, attempted to find their way back into the weſt by Pentland Hills. They were attacked by the king's forces*. Finding that they could not eſcape, they ſtopped their march. Their clergy endeavoured to infuſe courage into them. After ſinging ſome pſalms, the rebels turned on the enemy; and being aſſiſted by the advantage of the ground, they received the firſt charge very reſolutely. But that was all the action: Immediately they fell into diſorder, and fled for their lives. About forty were killed on the ſpot, and a hundred and thirty taken priſoners. The reſt, favoured by the night, and by the wearineſs, and even by the pity of the king's troops, made their eſcape.

The oppreſſions which theſe people had ſuffered, the deluſions under which they laboured, and their inoffenſive behaviour during the inſurrection, made them the objects of compaſſion: Yet were the king's miniſters, particularly Sharpe, reſolved to take ſevere vengeance. Ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh: Thirty-five before their own doors in different places. Theſe criminals might all have ſaved their lives, if they would have renounced the covenant. The executions were going on, when the king put a ſtop to them. He ſaid, that blood enough had already been ſhed; and he wrote a letter to the privy-council, in which he ordered, that ſuch of the priſoners as ſhould ſimply promiſe to obey the laws for the future, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that the incorrigible ſhould be ſent to the plantations. This letter was brought by Burnet, archbiſhop of Glaſgow; but not being immediately delivered to the council by Sharpe, the preſident, one Maccail had in the interval been put to the torture, under which he expired. He

* 28th November 1666.

ſeemed to die in an ecſtaſy of joy. "Farewel ſun, "moon, and ſtars; farewel world and time; farewel "weak and frail body: Welcome eternity, welcome "angels and ſaints, welcome Saviour of the world, and "welcome God, the judge of all!" Such were his laſt words; and theſe animated ſpeeches he uttered with an accent and manner, which ſtruck all the byſtanders with aſtoniſhment.

The ſettlement of Ireland, after the reſtoration, was a work of greater difficulty than that of England, or even of Scotland. Not only the power, during the former uſurpations, had there been veſted in the king's enemies: The whole property, in a manner, of the kingdom had alſo been changed; and it became neceſſary to redreſs, but with as little violence as poſſible, many grievous hardſhips and iniquities, which were there complained of.

The Iriſh catholics had in 1648 concluded a treaty with Ormond, the king's lieutenant; in which they had ſtipulated pardon for their paſt rebellion, and had engaged under certain conditions to aſſiſt the royal cauſe: And though the violence of the prieſts and the bigotry of the people had prevented, in a great meaſure, the execution of this treaty; yet were there many, who having ſtrictly, at the hazard of their lives, adhered to it, ſeemed on that account well entitled to reap the fruits of their loyalty. Cromwel, having without diſtinction expelled all the native Iriſh from the three provinces of Munſter, Leinſter, and Ulſter, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare; and among thoſe who had thus been forfeited, were many whoſe innocence was altogether unqueſtionable. Several proteſtants likewiſe, and Ormond among the reſt, had all along oppoſed the Iriſh rebellion; yet having afterwards embraced the king's cauſe againſt the parliament, they were all of them attainted by Cromwel. And there were many officers who had, from the commencement of the inſurrection, ſerved in Ireland, and who, becauſe they would not deſert the king, had been refuſed all their arrears by the Engliſh commonwealth.

To

To all theſe unhappy ſufferers ſome juſtice ſeemed to be due: But the difficulty was to find the means of redreſſing ſuch great and extenſive iniquities. Almoſt all the valuable parts of Ireland had been meaſured out and divided, either to the adventurers, who had lent money to the parliament for the ſuppreſſion of the Iriſh rebellion, or to the ſoldiers, who had received land in lieu of their arrears. Theſe could not be diſpoſſeſſed, becauſe they were the moſt powerful and only armed part of Ireland; becauſe it was requiſite to favour them, in order to ſupport the proteſtant and Engliſh intereſt in that kingdom; and becauſe they had generally, with a ſeeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the king's reſtoration. The king, therefore, iſſued a proclamation, in which he promiſed to maintain their ſettlement, and at the ſame time engaged to give redreſs to the innocent ſufferers. There was a quantity of land as yet undivided in Ireland; and from this and ſome other funds, it was thought poſſible for the king to fulfil both theſe engagements.

A court of claims was erected, conſiſting altogether of Engliſh commiſſioners, who had no connexions with any of the parties into which Ireland was divided. Before theſe were laid four thouſand claims of perſons craving reſtitution on account of their innocence; and the commiſſioners had found leiſure to examine only ſix hundred. It already appeared, that, if all theſe were to be reſtored, the funds, whence the adventurers and ſoldiers muſt get repriſals, would fall ſhort of giving them any tolerable ſatisfaction. A great alarm and anxiety ſeized all ranks of men: The hopes and fears of every party were excited: Theſe eagerly graſped at recovering their paternal inheritance: Thoſe were reſolute to maintain their new acquiſitions.

The duke of Ormond was created lord-lieutenant; being the only perſon whoſe prudence and equity could compoſe ſuch jarring intereſts. A parliament was aſſembled at Dublin; and as the lower houſe was almoſt entirely choſen by the ſoldiers and adventurers, who ſtill kept poſſeſſion, it was extremely favourable to that intereſt.

intereſt. The houſe of peers ſhowed greater impartiality.

An inſurrection was projected, together with a ſurpriſal of the caſtle of Dublin, by ſome of the diſbanded ſoldiers; but this deſign was happily defeated by the vigilance of Ormond. Some of the criminals were puniſhed. Blood, the moſt deſperate of them, eſcaped into England.

But affairs could not long remain in the confuſion and uncertainty into which they had fallen. All parties ſeemed willing to abate ſomewhat of their pretenſions, in order to attain ſome ſtability; and Ormond interpoſed his authority for that purpoſe. The ſoldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquiſh a third of their poſſeſſions; and as they had purchaſed their lands at very low prices, they had reaſon to think themſelves favoured by this compoſition. All thoſe who had been attainted on account of their adhering to the king were reſtored; and ſome of the innocent Iriſh. It was a hard ſituation, that a man was obliged to prove himſelf innocent, in order to recover poſſeſſion of the eſtate which he and his anceſtors had ever enjoyed: But the hardſhip was augmented, by the difficult conditions annexed to this proof. If the perſon had ever lived in the quarters of the rebels, he was not admitted to plead his innocence; and he was, for that reaſon alone, ſuppoſed to have been a rebel. The heinous guilt of the Iriſh nation made men the more readily overlook any iniquity, which might fall on individuals; and it was conſidered, that, though it be always the intereſt of all good government to prevent injuſtice, it is not always poſſible to remedy it, after it has had a long courſe, and has been attended with great ſucceſſes.

Ireland began to attain a ſtate of ſome compoſure, when it was diſturbed by a violent act, paſſed by the Engliſh parliament, which prohibited the importation of Iriſh cattle into England *. Ormond remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt this law. He ſaid, that the preſent trade, car-

* In 1666.

ried

ried on between England and Ireland, was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only proviſions, or rude materials, in return for every ſpecies of manufacture: That if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of that iſland had no other commodity, by which they could pay England for their importations, and muſt have recourſe to other nations for a ſupply: That the induſtrious inhabitants of England, if deprived of Iriſh proviſions, which made living cheap, would be obliged to augment the price of labour, and thereby render their manufactures too dear to be exported to foreign markets: That the indolent inhabitants of Ireland, finding proviſions fall almoſt to nothing, would never be induced to labour, but would perpetuate to all generations their native ſloth and barbariſm: That by cutting off almoſt entirely the trade between the kingdoms, all the natural bands of union were diſſolved, and nothing remained to keep the Iriſh in their duty but force and violence: And that, by reducing that kingdom to extreme poverty, it would be even rendered incapable of maintaining that military power, by which, during its well-grounded diſcontents, it muſt neceſſarily be retained in ſubjection.

The king was ſo much convinced of the juſtneſs of theſe reaſons, that he uſed all his intereſt to oppoſe the bill, and he openly declared, that he could not give his aſſent to it with a ſafe conſcience. But the commons were reſolute in their purpoſe. Some of the rents of England had fallen of late years, which had been aſcribed entirely to the importation of Iriſh cattle: Several intrigues had contributed to inflame that prejudice, particularly thoſe of Buckingham and Aſhley, who were deſirous of giving Ormond diſturbance in his government: And the ſpirit of tyranny, of which nations are as ſuſceptible as individuals, had extremely animated the Engliſh to exert their ſuperiority over their dependant ſtate. No affair could be conducted with greater violence than this was by the commons. They even went ſo far in the preamble of the bill as to declare the importation of Iriſh cattle to be a *nuiſance*. By this expreſſion they gave

hope

ſcope to their paſſion, and at the ſame time barred the king's prerogative, by which he might think himſelf entitled to diſpenſe with a law ſo full of injuſtice and bad policy. The lords expunged the word; but as the king was ſenſible that no ſupply would be given by the commons, unleſs they were gratified in their prejudices, he was obliged both to employ his intereſt with the peers for making the bill paſs, and to give the royal aſſent to it. He could not, however, forbear expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the jealouſy entertained againſt him, and at the intention which the commons diſcovered of retrenching his prerogative.

This law brought great diſtreſs for ſome time upon the Iriſh; but it has occaſioned their applying with great induſtry to manufactures, and has proved in the iſſue beneficial to that kingdom.

CHAP. LXV.

A parliament—The Cabal—Their characters—Their counſels—Alliance with France—A parliament—Coventry act—Blood's crimes—Duke declares himſelf Catholic—Exchequer ſhut—Declaration of indulgence—Attack of the Smyrna fleet—War declared with Holland—Weakneſs of the States—Battle of Solebay—Sandwich killed—Progreſs of the French—Conſternation of the Dutch—Prince of Orange Stadtholder—Maſſacre of the De Wits—Good conduct of the Prince—A parliament—Declaration of indulgence recalled—Sea-fight—Another ſea-fight—Another ſea fight—Congreſs of Cologne—A parliament—Peace with Holland.

SINCE the reſtoration, England had attained a ſituation which had never been experienced in any former period of her government, and which ſeemed the only one that could fully enſure, at once, her tranquillity and her liberty: The king was in continual want of ſupply from

from the parliament; and he ſeemed willing to accommodate himſelf to that dependant ſituation. Inſtead of reviving thoſe claims of prerogative, ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on by his predeceſſors, Charles had ſtrictly confined himſelf within the limits of law, and had courted, by every art of popularity, the affections of his ſubjects. Even the ſeverities, however blameable, which he had exerciſed againſt nonconformiſts, are to be conſidered as expedients by which he ſtrove to ingratiate himſelf with that party which predominated in parliament. But notwithſtanding theſe promiſing appearances, there were many circumſtances which kept the government from reſting ſteadily on that bottom on which it was placed. The crown having loſt almoſt all its ancient demeſnes, relied entirely on voluntary grants of the people; and the commons, not fully accuſtomed to this new ſituation, were not yet diſpoſed to ſupply with ſufficient liberality the neceſſities of the crown. They imitated too ſtrictly the example of their predeceſſors in a rigid frugality of public money; and neither ſufficiently conſidered the indigent condition of their prince, nor the general ſtate of Europe; where every nation, by its increaſe both of magnificence and force, had made great additions to all public expenſes. Some conſiderable ſums, indeed, were beſtowed on Charles; and the patriots of that age, tenacious of ancient maxims, loudly upbraided the commons with prodigality: But if we may judge by the example of a later period, when the government has become more regular, and the harmony of its parts has been more happily adjuſted, the parliaments of this reign ſeem rather to have merited a contrary reproach.

The natural conſequence of the poverty of the crown was, beſides feeble irregular tranſactions in foreign affairs, a continual uncertainty in its domeſtic adminiſtration. No one could anſwer with any tolerable aſſurance for the meaſures of the houſe of commons. Few of the members were attached to the court by any other band than that of inclination. Royaliſts indeed in their principles, but unexperienced in buſineſs, they lay expoſed to every rumour or inſinuation; and were driven

by momentary guſts or currents, no leſs than the populace themſelves. Even the attempts made to gain an aſcendant over them by offices, and, as it is believed, by bribes and penſions, were apt to operate in a manner contrary to what was intended by the miniſters. The novelty of the practice conveyed a general, and indeed a juſt alarm; while, at the ſame time, the poverty of the crown rendered this influence very limited and precarious.

The character of Charles was ill fitted to remedy thoſe defects in the conſtitution. He acted in the adminiſtration of public affairs as if government were a paſtime, rather than a ſerious occupation; and by the uncertainty of his conduct, he loſt that authority which could alone beſtow conſtancy on the fluctuating reſolutions of the parliament. His expenſes too, which ſometimes perhaps exceeded the proper bounds, were directed more by inclination than by policy; and while they increaſed his dependance on the parliament, they were not calculated fully to ſatisfy either the intereſted or diſintereſted part of that aſſembly.

The parliament met (8th Feb.), after a long adjournment; and the king promiſed himſelf every thing from the attachment of the commons. All his late meaſures had been calculated to acquire the good-will of his people; and, above all, the triple league, it was hoped, would be able to efface all the diſagreeable impreſſions left by the unhappy concluſion of the Dutch war. But a new attempt made by the court, and a laudable one too, loſt him, for a time, the effect of all theſe endeavours. Buckingham, who was in great favour with the king, and carried on many intrigues among the commons, had alſo endeavoured to ſupport connexions with the nonconformiſts; and he now formed a ſcheme, in concert with the lord-keeper, ſir Orlando Bridgeman, and the chief-juſtice, ſir Matthew Hale, two worthy patriots, to put an end to thoſe ſeverities under which theſe religioniſts had ſo long laboured. It was propoſed to reconcile the preſbyterians by a comprehenſion, and to grant a toleration to the independents and other

ſectaries.

ſectaries. Favour ſeems not, by this ſcheme, as by others embraced during the preſent reign, to have been intended the catholics: Yet were the zealous commons ſo diſguſted, that they could not be prevailed on even to give the king thanks for the triple league, however laudable that meaſure was then, and has ever ſince been eſteemed. They immediately voted an addreſs for a proclamation againſt conventicles. Their requeſt was complied with; but as the king ſtill dropped ſome hints of his deſire to reconcile his proteſtant ſubjects, the commons paſſed a very unuſual vote, that no man ſhould bring into the houſe any bill of that nature. The king in vain reiterated his ſolicitations for ſupply; repreſented the neceſſity of equipping a fleet; and even offered, that the money which they ſhould grant ſhould be collected and iſſued for that purpoſe by commiſſioners appointed by the houſe. Inſtead of complying, the commons voted an inquiry into all the miſcarriages during the late war; the ſlackening of ſail after the duke's victory from falſe orders delivered by Brounker, the miſcarriage at Bergen, the diviſion of the fleet under prince Rupert and Albemarle, the diſgrace at Chatham. Brounker was expelled the houſe, and ordered to be impeached. Commiſſioner Pet, who had neglected orders iſſued for the ſecurity of Chatham, met with the ſame fate. Theſe impeachments were never proſecuted. The houſe at length, having been indulged in all their prejudices, were prevailed with to vote the king three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, by an impoſition on wine and other liquors; after which they were adjourned.

Public buſineſs, beſides being retarded by the diſguſt of the commons againſt the tolerating maxims of the court, met with obſtructions this ſeſſion from a quarrel between the two houſes. (11th May.) Skinner, a rich merchant in London, having ſuffered ſome injuries from the Eaſt-India company, laid the matter by petition before the houſe of lords, by whom he was relieved in coſts and damages to the amount of five thouſand pounds. The commons voted, that the lords, in taking

cognizance of this affair, originally, without any appeal from inferior courts, had acted in a manner not agreeable to the laws of the land, and tending to deprive the subject of the right, ease, and benefit due to him by these laws; and that Skinner, in prosecuting the suit after this manner, had infringed the privileges of the commons: For which offence they ordered him to be taken into custody. Some conferences ensued between the houses; where the lords were tenacious of their right of judicature, and maintained, that the method in which they had exercised it was quite regular. The commons rose into a great ferment; and went so far as to vote, that "whoever should be aiding or assisting in putting "in execution the order or sentence of the house of "lords, in the case of Skinner against the East-India "company, should be deemed a betrayer of the rights "and liberties of the commons of England, and an "infringer of the privileges of the house of commons." They rightly judged, that it would not be easy, after this vote, to find any one who would venture to incur their indignation. The proceedings indeed of the lords seem in this case to have been unusual, and without precedent.

(1669, 9th Oct.) The king's necessities obliged him again to assemble the parliament, who showed some disposition to relieve him. The price, however, which he must pay for this indulgence, was his yielding to new laws against conventicles. His complaisance in this particular contributed more to gain the commons, than all the pompous pretences of supporting the triple alliance, that popular measure by which he expected to make such advantage. The quarrel between the two houses was revived; and as the commons had voted only four hundred thousand pounds, with which the king was not satisfied, he thought proper, before they had carried their vote into a law, to prorogue them (11th Dec.). The only business finished this short session, was the receiving of the report of the committee appointed for examining the public accounts. On the first inspection of this report, there

there appears a great ſum, no leſs than a million and a half, unaccounted for; and the natural inference is, that the king had much abuſed the truſt repoſed in him by parliament. But a more accurate inſpection of particulars ſerves, in a great meaſure, to remove this imputation. The king indeed went ſo far as to tell the parliament from the throne, "That he had fully informed himſelf of that matter, and did affirm, that "no part of thoſe monies which they had given him "had been diverted to other uſes, but, on the contrary, "beſides all thoſe ſupplies, a very great ſum had been "raiſed out of his ſtanding revenue and credit, and a "very great debt contracted; and all for the war." Though artificial pretences have often been employed by kings in their ſpeeches to parliament, and by none more than Charles, it is ſomewhat difficult to ſuſpect him of a direct lie and falſehood. He muſt have had ſome reaſons, and perhaps not unplauſible ones, for this affirmation, of which all his hearers, as they had the accounts lying before them, were at that time competent judges *.

The method which all parliaments had hitherto followed, was to vote a particular ſum for the ſupply, without any diſtinction, or any appropriation to particular ſervices. So long as the demands of the crown were ſmall and caſual, no great inconveniencies aroſe from this practice. But as all the meaſures of government were now changed, it muſt be confeſſed, that, if the king made a juſt application of public money, this inaccurate method of proceeding, by expoſing him to ſuſpicion, was prejudicial to him. If he were inclined to act otherwiſe, it was equally hurtful to the people. For theſe reaſons, a contrary practice, during all the late reigns, has conſtantly been followed by the commons.

(1670, 14th Feb.) When the parliament met after the prorogation, they entered anew upon the buſineſs of ſupply, and granted the king an additional duty, during

* See note [H] at the end of the volume.

eight years, of twelve pounds on each tun of Spaniſh wine imported, eight on each tun of French. A law alſo paſſed empowering him to ſell the fee-farm rents; the laſt remains of the demeſnes, by which the ancient kings of England had been ſupported. By this expedient, he obtained ſome ſupply for his preſent neceſſities, but left the crown, if poſſible, ſtill more dependant than before. How much money might be raiſed by theſe ſales, is uncertain; but it could not be near one million eight hundred thouſand pounds, the ſum aſſigned by ſome writers *.

The act againſt conventicles paſſed, and received the royal aſſent. It bears the appearance of mitigating the former perſecuting laws; but, if we may judge by the ſpirit, which had broken out almoſt every ſeſſion during this parliament, it was not intended as any favour to the nonconformiſts. Experience probably had taught that laws over-rigid and ſevere could not be executed. By this act a hearer in a conventicle (that is, in a diſſenting aſſembly, where more than five were preſent, beſides the family) was fined five ſhillings for the firſt offence, ten for the ſecond; the preacher twenty pounds for the firſt offence, forty for the ſecond. The perſon in whoſe houſe the conventicle met, was amerced a like ſum with the preacher. One clauſe is remarkable; that, if any diſpute ſhould ariſe with regard to the interpretation of any part of the act, the judges ſhould always explain the doubt in the ſenſe leaſt favourable to conventicles, it being the intention of parliament entirely to ſuppreſs them. Such was the zeal of the commons, that they violated the plaineſt and moſt eſtabliſhed maxims of civil policy, which require, that, in all criminal proſecutions, favour ſhould always be given to the priſoner.

* Mr. Carte, in his Vindication of the Anſwer to the Byeſtander, p. 99. ſays, that the ſale of the fee-farm rents would not yield above one hundred thouſand pounds; and his reaſons appear well founded.

The

The affair of Skinner ſtill remained a ground of quarrel between the two houſes; but the king prevailed with the peers to accept of the expedient propoſed by the commons, that a general razure ſhould be made of all the tranſactions with regard to that diſputed queſtion.

Some attempts were made by the king to effect a union between England and Scotland; though they were too feeble to remove all the difficulties which obſtructed that uſeful and important undertaking. Commiſſioners were appointed to meet, in order to regulate the conditions; But the deſign, chiefly by the intrigues of Lauderdale, ſoon after came to nothing.

The king, about this time, began frequently to attend the debates of the houſe of peers. He ſaid, that they amuſed him, and that he found them no leſs entertaining than a play. But deeper deſigns were ſuſpected. As he ſeemed to intereſt himſelf extremely in the cauſe of lord Roos, who had obtained a divorce from his wife on the accuſation of adultery, and applied to parliament for leave to marry again; people imagined, that Charles intended to make a precedent of the caſe, and that ſome other pretence would be found for getting rid of the queen. Many propoſals to this purpoſe, it is ſaid, were made him by Buckingham: But the king, how little ſcrupulous ſoever in ſome reſpects, was incapable of any action harſh or barbarous; and he always rejected every ſcheme of this nature. A ſuſpicion, however, of ſuch intentions, it was obſerved, had, at this time, begotten a coldneſs between the two royal brothers.

We now come to a period, when the king's counſels, which had hitherto, in the main, been good, though negligent and fluctuating, became, during ſome time, remarkably bad, or even criminal; and breeding incurable jealouſies in all men, were followed by ſuch conſequences as had almoſt terminated in the ruin both of prince and people. Happily, the ſame negligence ſtill attended him; and, as it had leſſened the influence of the good, it alſo diminiſhed the effect of the bad meaſures which he embraced.

It was remarked that the committee of council, eſtabliſhed for foreign affairs, was entirely changed; and that prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, ſecretary Trevor, and lord-keeper Bridgeman, men in whoſe honour the nation had great confidence, were never called to any deliberations. The whole ſecret was entruſted to five perſons, Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale. Theſe men were known by the appellation of the Cabal, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compoſe. Never was there a more dangerous miniſtry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious counſels.

Lord Aſhley, ſoon after known by the name of earl of Shafteſbury, was one of the moſt remarkable characters of the age, and the chief ſpring of all the ſucceeding movements. During his early youth, he had engaged in the late king's party; but being diſguſted with ſome meaſures of prince Maurice, he ſoon deſerted to the parliament. He inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Cromwel; and as he had great influence with the preſbyterians, he was ſerviceable in ſupporting, with his party, the authority of that uſurper. He employed the ſame credit in promoting the reſtoration; and on that account both deſerved and acquired favour with the king. In all his changes, he ſtill maintained the character of never betraying thoſe friends whom he deſerted; and whichever party he joined, his great capacity and ſingular talents ſoon gained him their confidence, and enabled him to take the lead among them. No ſtation could ſatisfy his ambition, no fatigues were inſuperable to his induſtry. Well acquainted with the blind attachment of faction, he ſurmounted all ſenſe of ſhame: And relying on the ſubtilty of his contrivances, he was not ſtartled with enterpriſes the moſt hazardous and moſt criminal. His talents, both of public ſpeaking and private inſinuation, ſhone out in an eminent degree; and amidſt all his furious paſſions, he poſſeſſed a ſound judgment of buſineſs, and ſtill more of men. Though fitted by nature for beginning and puſhing the greateſt undertakings, he was never able to conduct any to a happy period;

period; and his eminent abilities, by reaſon of his inſatiable deſires, were equally dangerous to himſelf, to the prince, and to the people.

The duke of Buckingham poſſeſſed all the advantages, which a graceful perſon, a high rank, a ſplendid fortune, and a lively wit, could beſtow; but by his wild conduct, unreſtrained either by prudence or principle, he found means to render himſelf in the end odious and even inſignificant. The leaſt intereſt could make him abandon his honour; the ſmalleſt pleaſure could ſeduce him from his intereſt; the moſt frivolous caprice was ſufficient to counterbalance his pleaſure. By his want of ſecrecy and conſtancy, he deſtroyed his character in public life; by his contempt of order and economy, he diſſipated his private fortune; by riot and debauchery, he ruined his health; and he remained at laſt as incapable of doing hurt, as he had ever been little deſirous of doing good, to mankind.

The earl, ſoon after created duke of Lauderdale, was not defective in natural, and ſtill leſs in acquired, talents; but neither was his addreſs graceful, nor his underſtanding juſt. His principles, or more properly ſpeaking his prejudices, were obſtinate, but unable to reſtrain his ambition: His ambition was ſtill leſs dangerous than the tyranny and violence of his temper. An implacable enemy, but a lukewarm friend; inſolent to his inferiors, but abject to his ſuperiors; though in his whole character and deportment he was almoſt diametrically oppoſite to the king, he had the fortune, beyond any other miniſter, to maintain, during the greater part of his reign, an aſcendant over him

The talents of parliamentary eloquence and intrigue had raiſed ſir Thomas Clifford; and his daring impetuous ſpirit gave him weight in the king's councils. Of the whole cabal, Arlington was the leaſt dangerous, either by his vices or his talents. His judgment was ſound, though his capacity was but moderate; and his intentions were good, though he wanted courage and integrity to perſevere in them. Together with Temple and Bridgeman, he had been a great promoter of the triple

triple league; but he threw himself, with equal alacrity, into opposite measures, when he found them agreeable to his master. Clifford and he were secretly catholics: Shaftesbury, though addicted to astrology, was reckoned a deist: Buckingham had too little reflection to embrace any steady principles: Lauderdale had long been a bigotted and furious presbyterian; and the opinions of that sect still kept possession of his mind, how little soever they appeared in his conduct.

The dark counsels of the Cabal, though from the first they gave anxiety to all men of reflection, were not thoroughly known but by the event. Such seem to have been the views which they, in concurrence with some catholic courtiers, who had the ear of their sovereign, suggested to the king and the duke, and which these princes too greedily embraced. They said, that the parliament, though the spirit of party, for the present, attached them to the crown, were still more attached to those powers and privileges which their predecessors had usurped from the sovereign: That after the first flow of kindness was spent, they had discovered evident symptoms of discontent; and would be sure to turn against the king all the authority which they yet retained, and still more those pretensions which it was easy for them in a moment to revive: That they not only kept the king in dependance by means of his precarious revenue, but had never discovered a suitable generosity, even in those temporary supplies which they granted him: That it was high time for the prince to rouse himself from his lethargy, and to recover that authority which his predecessors, during so many ages, had peaceably enjoyed: That the great error or misfortune of his father was the not having formed any close connexion with foreign princes, who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, might have found their interest in supporting him: That the present alliances, being entered into with so many weaker potentates, who themselves stood in need of the king's protection, could never serve to maintain, much less augment, the royal authority: That the French monarch alone, so generous a prince, and by blood so nearly allied to the king, would

would be found both able and willing, if gratified in his ambition, to defend the common cauſe of kings againſt uſurping ſubjects: That a war, undertaken againſt Holland by the united force of two ſuch mighty potentates, would prove an eaſy enterpriſe, and would ſerve all the purpoſes which were aimed at: That, under pretence of that war, it would not be difficult to levy a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his ſubjects, the king would vainly expect to defend his prerogative: That his naval power might be maintained, partly by the ſupplies, which, on other pretences, would previouſly be obtained from parliament; partly by ſubſidies from France; partly by captures, which might eaſily be made on that opulent republic: That, in ſuch a ſituation, attempts to recover the loſt authority of the crown would be attended with ſucceſs; nor would any malcontents dare to reſiſt a prince, fortified by ſo powerful an alliance; or if they did, they would only draw more certain ruin on themſelves and on their cauſe: And that, by ſubduing the States, a great ſtep would be made towards a reformation of the government; ſince it was apparent, that that republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified, in his factious ſubjects, their attachment to what they vainly termed their civil and religious liberties.

Theſe ſuggeſtions happened fatally to concur with all the inclinations and prejudices of the king; his deſire of more extenſive authority, his propenſity to the catholic religion, his avidity for money. He ſeems likewiſe, from the very beginning of his reign, to have entertained great jealouſy of his own ſubjects, and, on that account, a deſire of fortifying himſelf by an intimate alliance with France. So early as 1664, he had offered the French monarch to allow him, without oppoſition, to conquer Flanders, provided that prince would engage to furniſh him with ten thouſand infantry, and a ſuitable number of cavalry, in caſe of any rebellion in England. As no dangerous ſymptom at that time appeared, we are left to conjecture, from this incident, what opinion Charles had conceived of the factious diſpoſition of his people.

Even

Even during the time when the triple alliance was the moſt zealouſly cultivated, the king never ſeems to have been entirely cordial in thoſe ſalutary meaſures, but ſtill to have caſt a longing eye towards the French alliance. Clifford, who had much of his confidence, ſaid imprudently, "Notwithſtanding all this joy, we muſt have a "ſecond war with Holland." The acceſſion of the emperor to that alliance had been refuſed by England on frivolous pretences. And many unfriendly cavils were raiſed againſt the States with regard to Surinam and the conduct of the Eaſt-India company *. But about April 1669, the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms appeared of thoſe fatal meaſures which were afterwards more openly purſued.

De Wit, at that time, came to Temple; and told him, that he paid him a viſit as a friend, not as a miniſter. The occaſion was, to acquaint him with a converſation which he had lately had with Puffendorf the Swediſh agent, who had paſſed by the Hague in the way from Paris to his own country. The French miniſters, Puffendorf ſaid, had taken much pains to perſuade him, that the Swedes would very ill find their account in thoſe meaſures which they had lately embraced: That Spain would fail them in all her promiſes of ſubſidies; nor would Holland alone be able to ſupport them: That England would certainly fail them, and had already adopted counſels directly oppoſite to thoſe which by the triple league ſhe had bound herſelf to purſue: And that the reſolution was not the leſs fixed and certain, becauſe the ſecret was as yet communicated to very few, either in the French or Engliſh court. When Puffendorf ſeemed incredulous, Turenne ſhowed him a letter from Colbert de Croſſy, the French miniſter at London; in which, after mentioning the ſucceſs of his negotiations, and the favourable diſpoſition of the chief miniſters there, he added, "And I have at laſt made them ſenſible of the "full extent of his majeſty's bounty." From this incident it appears, that the infamous practice of ſelling themſelves to foreign princes, a practice which, notwith-

* See note [I] at the end of the volume.

ſtanding

ſtanding the malignity of the vulgar, is certainly rare among men in high office, had not been ſcrupled by Charles's miniſters, who even obtained their maſter's conſent to this diſhonourable corruption.

But while all men of penetration, both abroad and at home, were alarmed with theſe incidents, the viſit which the king received from his ſiſter, the dutcheſs of Orleans, was the foundation of ſtill ſtronger ſuſpicions. Lewis, knowing the addreſs and inſinuation of that amiable princeſs, and the great influence which ſhe had gained over her brother, had engaged her to employ all her good offices, in order to detach Charles from the triple league, which, he knew, had fixed ſuch unſurmountable barriers to his ambition; and he now ſent her to put the laſt hand to the plan of their conjunct operations. That he might the better cover this negotiation, he pretended to viſit his frontiers, particularly the great works which he had undertaken at Dunkirk; and he carried the queen and the whole court along with him. (16th May.) While he remained on the oppoſite ſhore, the dutcheſs of Orleans went over to England; and Charles met her at Dover, where they paſſed ten days together in great mirth and feſtivity. By her artifices and careſſes, ſhe prevailed on Charles to relinquiſh the moſt ſettled maxims of honour and policy, and to finiſh his engagements with Lewis for the deſtruction of Holland; as well as for the ſubſequent change of religion in England.

But Lewis well knew Charles's character, and the uſual fluctuation of his counſels. In order to fix him in the French intereſts, he reſolved to bind him by the ties of pleaſure, the only ones which with him were irreſiſtible; and he made him a preſent of a French miſtreſs, by whoſe means he hoped, for the future, to govern him. The dutcheſs of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name ef Queroüaille, whom the king carried to London, and ſoon after created dutcheſs of Portſmouth. He was extremely attached to her during the whole courſe of his life; and ſhe proved a great means of ſupporting his connexions with her native country.

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The ſatisfaction which Charles reaped from his new alliance, received a great check by the death of his ſiſter, and ſtill more by thoſe melancholy circumſtances which attended it. Her death was ſudden, after a few days illneſs; and ſhe was ſeized with the malady upon drinking a glaſs of ſuccory water. Strong ſuſpicions of poiſon aroſe in the court of France, and were ſpread all over Europe; and as her huſband had diſcovered many ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſcontent on account of her conduct, he was univerſally believed to be the author of the crime. Charles himſelf, during ſome time, was entirely convinced of his guilt; but upon receiving the atteſtation of phyſicians, who, on opening her body, found no foundation for the general rumour, he was, or pretended to be, ſatisfied. The duke of Orleans indeed did never, in any other circumſtance of his life, betray ſuch diſpoſitions as might lead him to ſo criminal an action; and a lady, it is ſaid, drank the remains of the ſame glaſs, without feeling any inconvenience. The ſudden death of princes is commonly accompanied with theſe diſmal ſurmiſes; and therefore leſs weight is in this caſe to be laid on the ſuſpicions of the public.

Charles, inſtead of breaking with France upon this incident, took advantage of it to ſend over Buckingham, under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans, but in reality to concert farther meaſures for the projected war. Never ambaſſador received greater careſſes. The more deſtructive the preſent meaſures were to the intereſts of England, the more natural was it for Lewis to load with civilities, and even with favours, thoſe whom he could engage to promote them.

The journey of Buckingham augmented the ſuſpicions in Holland, which every circumſtance tended ſtill farther to confirm. Lewis made a ſudden irruption into Lorraine; and though he miſſed ſeizing the duke himſelf, who had no ſurmiſe of the danger, and who narrowly eſcaped, he was ſoon able, without reſiſtance, to make himſelf maſter of the whole country. The French monarch was ſo far unhappy, that, though the moſt tempting opportunities offered themſelves, he had not commonly

monly ſo much as the pretence of equity and juſtice to cover his ambitious meaſures. This acquiſition of Lorraine ought to have excited the jealouſy of the contracting powers in the triple league, as much as an invaſion of Flanders itſelf; yet did Charles turn a deaf ear to all remonſtrances made him upon that ſubject.

But what tended chiefly to open the eyes of de Wit and the States, with regard to the meaſures of England, was the ſudden recall of ſir William Temple. This miniſter had ſo firmly eſtabliſhed his character of honour and integrity, that he was believed incapable even of obeying his maſter's commands, in promoting meaſures which he eſteemed pernicious to his country; and ſo long as he remained in employment, de Wit thought himſelf aſſured of the fidelity of England. Charles was ſo ſenſible of this prepoſſeſſion, that he ordered Temple to leave his family at the Hague, and pretended, that that miniſter would immediately return, after having conferred with the king about ſome buſineſs, where his negotiation had met with obſtructions. De Wit made the Dutch reſident inform the Engliſh court, that he ſhould conſider the recall of Temple as an expreſs declaration of a change of meaſures in England; and ſhould even know what interpretation to put upon any delay of his return.

(Octob. 24.) While theſe meaſures were ſecretly in agitation, the parliament met, according to adjournment. The king made a ſhort ſpeech, and left the buſineſs to be enlarged upon by the keeper. That miniſter much inſiſted on the king's great want of ſupply; the mighty increaſe of the naval power of France, now triple to what it was before the laſt war with Holland; the decay of the Engliſh navy; the neceſſity of fitting out next year a fleet of fifty ſail; the obligations which the king lay under by ſeveral treaties to exert himſelf for the common good of Chriſtendom. Among other treaties, he mentioned the triple alliance, and the defenſive league with the States.

The artifice ſucceeded. The houſe of commons, entirely ſatisfied with the king's meaſures, voted him conſiderable ſupplies. A land-tax for a year was impoſed

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of a ſhilling a pound; two ſhillings a pound on two thirds of the ſalaries of offices; fifteen ſhillings on every hundred pounds of bankers' money and ſtock; an additional exciſe upon beer for ſix years, and certain impoſitions upon law proceedings for nine years. The parliament had never before been in a more liberal humour; and never ſurely was it leſs merited by the counſels of the king and of his miniſters *.

* This year, on the 3d of January, died George Monk, duke of Albemarle, at Newhall in Eſſex, after a languiſhing illneſs, and in the ſixty-third year of his age. He left a great eſtate of 15,000l. a year in land, and 60,000 l. in money, acquired by the bounty of the king, and increaſed by his own frugality in his later years. Biſhop Burnet, who, agreeably to his own factious ſpirit, treats this illuſtrious perſonage with great malignity, reproaches him with avarice: But as he appears not to have been in the leaſt tainted with rapacity, his frugal conduct may more candidly be imputed to the habits acquired in early life, while he was poſſeſſed of a very narrow fortune. It is indeed a ſingular proof of the ſtrange power of faction, that any malignity ſhould purſue the memory of a nobleman, the tenour of whoſe life was ſo unexceptionable, and who, by reſtoring the ancient and legal and free government to three kingdoms plunged in the moſt deſtructive anarchy, may ſafely be ſaid to be the ſubject in theſe iſlands, who, ſince the beginning of time, rendered the moſt durable and moſt eſſential ſervices to his native country. The means alſo, by which he atchieved his great undertakings, were almoſt entirely unexceptionable. His temporary diſſimulation, being abſolutely neceſſary, could ſcarcely be blameable. He had received no truſt from that mongrel, pretended, uſurping parliament whom he dethroned; therefore could betray none: He even refuſed to carry his diſſimulation ſo far as to take the oath of abjuration againſt the king. I confeſs, however, that the Rev. Dr. Douglas has ſhown me, from the Clarendon papers, an original letter of his to ſir Arthur Hazzlerig, containing very earneſt, and certainly falſe proteſtations, of his zeal for a commonwealth. It is to be lamented, that ſo worthy a man, and of ſuch plain manners, ſhould ever have found it neceſſary to carry his diſſimulation to ſuch a height. His family ended with his ſon.

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The commons paſſed another bill, for laying a duty on tobacco, Scotch ſalt, glaſſes, and ſome other commodities. Againſt this bill the merchants of London appeared by petition before the houſe of lords. The lords entered into their reaſons, and began to make amendments on the bill ſent up by the commons. This attempt was highly reſented by the lower houſe, as an encroachment on the right, which they pretended to poſſeſs alone, of granting money to the crown. Many remonſtrances paſſed between the two houſes; and by their altercations the king was obliged to prorogue the parliament (22d April); and he thereby loſt the money which was intended him. This is the laſt time that the peers have revived any pretenſions of that nature. Ever ſince, the privilege of the commons, in all other places, except in the houſe of peers, has paſſed for uncontroverted.

There was a private affair, which, during this ſeſſion, diſguſted the houſe of commons, and required ſome pains to accommodate it. The uſual method of thoſe who oppoſed the court in the money bills was, if they failed in the main vote, as to the extent of the ſupply, to levy the money upon ſuch funds as they expected would be unacceptable, or would prove deficient. It was propoſed to lay an impoſition upon playhouſes: The courtiers objected, that the players were the king's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, aſked, "whether the king's "pleaſure lay among the male or the female players?" This ſtroke of ſatire was aimed at Charles, who, beſides his miſtreſſes of higher quality, entertained at that time two actreſſes, Davis and Nell Gwin. The king received not the raillery with the good humour which might have been expected. It was ſaid, that this being the firſt time that reſpect to majeſty had been publicly violated, it was neceſſary, by ſome ſevere chaſtiſement, to make Coventry an example to all who might incline to tread in his footſteps. Sands, Obrian, and ſome other officers of the guards, were ordered to way-lay him, and to ſet a mark upon him. He defended himſelf with bravery, and after wounding ſeveral of the aſſailants, was diſarmed with

ſome difficulty. They cut his noſe to the bone, in order, as they ſaid, to teach him what reſpect he owed to the king. The commons were inflamed by this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words ſpoken in the houſe. They paſſed a law, which made it capital to maim any perſon; and they enacted, that thoſe criminals, who had aſſaulted Coventry, ſhould be incapable of receiving a pardon from the crown.

There was another private affair tranſacted about this time, by which the king was as much expoſed to the imputation of a capricious lenity, as he was here blamed for unneceſſary ſeverity. Blood, a diſbanded officer of the protector's, had been engaged in the conſpiracy for raiſing an inſurrection in Ireland; and on account of this crime he himſelf had been attainted, and ſome of his accomplices capitally puniſhed. The daring villain meditated revenge upon Ormond, the lord-lieutenant. Having by artifice drawn off the duke's footmen, he attacked his coach in the night-time, as it drove along St. James's-ſtreet in London; and he made himſelf maſter of his perſon. He might here have finiſhed the crime, had he not meditated refinements in his vengeance: He was reſolved to hang the duke at Tyburn; and for that purpoſe bound him, and mounted him on horſeback behind one of his companions. They were advanced a good way into the fields; when the duke, making efforts for his liberty, threw himſelf to the ground, and brought down with him the aſſaſſin to whom he was faſtened. They were ſtruggling together in the mire; when Ormond's ſervants, whom the alarm had reached, came and ſaved him. Blood and his companions, firing their piſtols in a hurry at the duke, rode off, and ſaved themſelves by means of the darkneſs.

Buckingham was at firſt, with ſome appearances of reaſon, ſuſpected to be the author of this attempt. His profligate character, and his enmity againſt Ormond, expoſed him to that imputation. Oſſory ſoon after came to court; and ſeeing Buckingham ſtand by the king, his colour roſe, and he could not forbear expreſſing himſelf to this purpoſe: "My lord, I know well that you

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" are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father:
" But I give you warning; if by any means he come to
" a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the au-
" thor: I shall consider you as the assassin: I shall treat
" you as such; and wherever I meet you, I shall
" pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair;
" and I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you
" may be sure I shall not fail of performance." If there was here any indecorum, it was easily excused in a generous youth, when his father's life was exposed to danger.

A little after, Blood formed a design of carrying off the crown and regalia from the Tower; a design to which he was prompted, as well by the surprising boldness of the enterprise, as by the views of profit. He was near succeeding. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office, and had gotten out of the Tower with his prey; but was overtaken and seized, with some of his associates. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ringleader. When questioned, he frankly avowed the enterprise; but refused to tell his accomplices. " The
" fear of death," he said, " should never engage him,
" either to deny a guilt, or betray a friend." All these extraordinary circumstances made him the general subject of conversation; and the king was moved, by an idle curiosity, to see and speak with a person so noted for his courage and his crimes. Blood might now esteem himself secure of pardon; and he wanted not address to improve the opportunity. He told Charles, that he had been engaged, with others, in a design to kill him with a carabine above Battersea, where his majesty often went to bathe: That the cause of this resolution was the severity exercised over the consciences of the godly, in restraining the liberty of their religious assemblies: That when he had taken his stand among the reeds, full of these bloody resolutions, he found his heart checked with an awe of majesty; and he not only relented himself, but diverted his associates from their purpose: That he had

long ago brought himſelf to an entire indifference about life, which he now gave for loſt; yet could he not forbear warning the king of the danger which might attend his execution: That his aſſociates had bound themſelves by the ſtricteſt oaths to revenge the death of any of the confederacy: And that no precaution or power could ſecure any one from the effects of their deſperate reſolutions.

Whether theſe conſiderations excited fear or admiration in the king, they confirmed his reſolution of granting a pardon to Blood; but he thought it a point of decency firſt to obtain the duke of Ormond's conſent. Arlington came to Ormond in the king's name, and deſired that he would not proſecute Blood, for reaſons which he was commanded to give him. The duke replied, that his majeſty's commands were the only reaſon that could be given; and being ſufficient, he might therefore ſpare the reſt. Charles carried his kindneſs to Blood ſtill farther: He granted him an eſtate of five hundred pounds a-year in Ireland; he encouraged his attendance about his perſon; he ſhowed him great countenance, and many applied to him for promoting their pretenſions at court. And while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded, in defending the crown and regalia, was forgotten and neglected, this man, who deſerved only to be ſtared at, and deteſted as a monſter, became a kind of favourite.

Errors of this nature in private life have often as bad an influence as miſcarriages, in which the public is more immediately concerned. Another incident happened this year, which infuſed a general diſpleaſure, and ſtill greater apprehenſions, into all men. The dutcheſs of York died; and in her laſt ſickneſs, ſhe made open profeſſion of the Romiſh religion, and finiſhed her life in that communion. This put an end to that thin diſguiſe which the duke had hitherto worn; and he now openly declared his converſion to the church of Rome. Unaccountable terrors of popery, ever ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, had prevailed throughout the nation; but theſe had formerly

merly been found ſo groundleſs, and had been employed to ſo many bad purpoſes, that ſurmiſes of this nature were likely to meet with the leſs credit among all men of ſenſe; and nothing but the duke's imprudent bigotry could have convinced the whole nation of his change of religion. Popery, which had hitherto been only a hideous ſpectre, was now become a real ground of terror; being openly and zealouſly embraced by the heir to the crown, a prince of induſtry and enterpriſe; while the king himſelf was not entirely free from like ſuſpicions.

It is probable, that the new alliance with France inſpired the duke with the courage to make open profeſſion of his religion, and rendered him more careleſs of the affections and eſteem of the Engliſh. This alliance became every day more apparent. Temple was declared to be no longer ambaſſador to the States; and Downing, whom the Dutch regarded as the inveterate enemy of their republic, was ſent over in his ſtead. A ground of quarrel was ſought by means of a yacht, deſpatched for lady Temple. The captain ſailed through the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coaſts; and he had orders to make them ſtrike, to fire on them, and to perſevere till they ſhould return his fire. The Dutch admiral, Van Ghent, ſurpriſed at this bravado, came on board the yacht, and expreſſed his willingneſs to pay reſpect to the Britiſh flag, according to former practice: But that a fleet, on their own coaſts, ſhould ſtrike to a ſingle veſſel, and that not a ſhip of war, was, he ſaid, ſuch an innovation, that he durſt not, without expreſs orders, agree to it. The captain, thinking it dangerous, as well as abſurd, to renew firing in the midſt of the Dutch fleet, continued his courſe; and, for that neglect of orders, was committed to the Tower.

This incident, however, furniſhed Downing with a new article to increaſe thoſe vain pretences, on which it was purpoſed to ground the intended rupture. The Engliſh court delayed ſeveral months before they complained; leſt, if they had demanded ſatisfaction more early, the Dutch might have had time to grant it. Even

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when Downing delivered his memorial, he was bound by his inſtructions not to accept of any ſatisfaction after a certain number of days; a very imperious manner of negotiating, and impracticable in Holland, where the forms of the republic render delays abſolutely unavoidable. An anſwer, however, though refuſed by Downing, was ſent over to London; with an ambaſſador extraordinary, who had orders to uſe every expedient that might give ſatisfaction to the court of England. That court replied, that the anſwer of the Hollanders was ambiguous and obſcure; but they would not ſpecify the articles or expreſſions which were liable to that objection. The Dutch ambaſſador deſired the Engliſh miniſtry to draw the anſwer, in what terms they pleaſed; and he engaged to ſign it: The Engliſh miniſtry replied, that it was not their buſineſs to draw papers for the Dutch. The ambaſſador brought them the draught of an article, and aſked them whether it were ſatisfactory: The Engliſh anſwered that, when he had ſigned and delivered it, they would tell him their mind concerning it. The Dutchman reſolved to ſign it at a venture; and on his demanding a new audience, an hour was appointed for that purpoſe: But when he attended, the Engliſh refuſed to enter upon buſineſs, and told him, that the ſeaſon for negotiating was now paſt *.

(1672.) Long and frequent prorogations were made of the parliament; leſt the houſes ſhould declare themſelves with vigour againſt counſels, ſo oppoſite to the inclination as well as intereſts of the public. Could we ſuppoſe that Charles, in his alliance againſt Holland, really meant the good of his people, that meaſure muſt paſs for an extraordinary, nay, a romantic ſtrain of patriotiſm,

* This year, on the 12th of November, died, in his retreat, and in the 60th year of his age, Thomas lord Fairfax, who performed many great actions, without being a memorable perſonage, and allowed himſelf to be carried into many criminal enterpriſes, with the beſt and moſt upright intentions. His daughter and heir was married to George Villiers, duke of Buckingham.

which

which could lead him, in ſpite of all difficulties, and even in ſpite of themſelves, to ſeek the welfare of the nation. But every ſtep, which he took in this affair, became a proof, to all men of penetration, that the preſent war was intended againſt the religion and liberties of his own ſubjects, even more than againſt the Dutch themſelves. He now acted in every thing, as if he were already an abſolute monarch, and was never more to lie under the control of national aſſemblies.

The long prorogations of parliament, if they freed the king from the importunate remonſtrances of that aſſembly, were, however, attended with this inconvenience, that no money could be procured to carry on the military preparations againſt Holland. Under pretence of maintaining the triple league, which at that very time he had firmly reſolved to break, Charles had obtained a large ſupply from the commons; but this money was ſoon exhauſted by debts and expenſes. France had ſtipulated to pay two hundred thouſand pounds a-year during the war; but that ſupply was inconſiderable, compared to the immenſe charge of the Engliſh navy. It ſeemed as yet premature to venture on levying money, without conſent of parliament; ſince the power of taxing themſelves was the privilege, of which the Engliſh were, with reaſon, particularly jealous. Some other reſource muſt be fallen on. The king had declared, that the ſtaff of treaſurer was ready for any one that could find an expedient for ſupplying the preſent neceſſities. Shafteſbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately ſeized, and carried to the king, who granted him the promiſed reward, together with a peerage. This expedient was the ſhutting up of the Exchequer *, and the retaining of all the payments which ſhould be made into it.

It had been uſual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, and to advance it upon ſecurity of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimburſed, when

* 2d January.

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the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, ſometimes ten, per cent. for ſums which either had been conſigned to them without intereſt, or which they had borrowed at ſix per cent.: Profits, which they dearly paid for by this egregious breach of public faith. The meaſure was ſo ſuddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confuſion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. The bankers ſtopped payment; the merchants could anſwer no bills; diſtruſt took place every-where, with a ſtagnation of commerce, by which the public was univerſally affected. And men, full of diſmal apprehenſions, aſked each other, what muſt be the ſcope of thoſe myſterious counſels, whence the parliament and all men of honour were excluded, and which commenced by the forfeiture of public credit, and an open violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements, both foreign and domeſtic.

Another meaſure of the court contains ſomething laudable, when conſidered in itſelf; but if we reflect on the motive whence it proceeded, as well as the time when it was embraced, it will furniſh a ſtrong proof of the arbitrary and dangerous counſels purſued at preſent by the king and his miniſtry. Charles reſolved to make uſe of his ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical matters; a power, he ſaid, which was not only inherent in him, but which had been recogniſed by ſeveral acts of parliament. (March 15th.) By virtue of this authority, he iſſued a proclamation; ſuſpending the penal laws enacted againſt all nonconformiſts or recuſants whatſoever; and granting to the proteſtant diſſenters the public exerciſe of their religion, to the catholics the exerciſe of it in private houſes. A fruitleſs experiment of this kind, oppoſed by the parliament, and retracted by the king, had already been made a few years after the reſtoration; but Charles expected, that the parliament, whenever it ſhould meet, would now be tamed to greater ſubmiſſion, and would no longer dare to control his meaſures. Meanwhile, the diſſenters, the moſt inveterate enemies of the court, were mollified

mollified by these indulgent maxims: And the catholics, under their shelter, enjoyed more liberty than the laws had hitherto allowed them.

At the same time, the act of navigation was suspended by royal will and pleasure: A measure which, though a stretch of prerogative, seemed useful to commerce, while all the seamen were employed on board the royal navy. A like suspension had been granted, during the first Dutch war, and was not much remarked; because men had, at that time, entertained less jealousy of the crown. A proclamation was also issued, containing rigorous clauses in favour of pressing: Another full of menaces against those who presumed to speak undutifully of his majesty's measures, and even against those who heard such discourse, unless they informed in due time against the offenders: Another against importing or vending any sort of painted earthen ware, "except those of "China, upon pain of being grievously fined, and suf- "fering the utmost punishment, which might be lawfully "inflicted upon contemners of his majesty's royal au- "thority." An army had been levied; and it was found, that discipline could not be enforced without the exercise of martial law, which was therefore established by order of council, though contrary to the petition of right. All these acts of power, how little important soever in themselves, savoured strongly of arbitrary government, and were nowise suitable to that legal administration, which the parliament, after such violent convulsions and civil wars, had hoped to have established in the kingdom.

It may be worth remarking, that the lord-keeper refused to affix the great seal to the declaration for suspending the penal laws; and was for that reason, though under other pretences, removed from his office. Shaftesbury was made chancellor in his place; and thus another member of the Cabal received the reward of his counsels.

Foreign transactions kept pace with these domestic occurrences. An attempt, before the declaration of war, was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet by sir Robert Holmes.

Holmes. This fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, valued at a million and a half; and the hopes of ſeizing ſo rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the preſent war, and he had conſidered that capture as a principal reſource for ſupporting his military enterpriſes. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yachts, had orders to go on this command; and he paſſed Sprague in the channel, who was returning with a ſquadron from a cruize in the Mediterranean. Sprague informed him of the near approach of the Hollanders; and had not Holmes, from a deſire of engroſſing the honour and profit of the enterpriſe, kept the ſecret of his orders, the conjunction of theſe ſquadrons had rendered the ſucceſs infallible. (March 13th.) When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral Van Neſs, who commanded the convoy, to come on board of him: One of his captains gave a like inſidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But theſe officers were on their guard. They had received an intimation of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh, and had already put all the ſhips of war and merchantmen in an excellent poſture of defence. Three times were they valiantly aſſailed by the Engliſh; and as often did they valiantly defend themſelves. In the third attack one of the Dutch ſhips of war was taken; and three or four of their moſt inconſiderable merchantmen fell into the enemies' hands. The reſt, fighting with ſkill and courage, continued their courſe; and, favoured by a miſt, got ſafe into their own harbours. This attempt is denominated perfidious and piratical by the Dutch writers, and even by many of the Engliſh. It merits at leaſt the appellation of irregular; and as it had been attended with bad ſucceſs, it brought double ſhame upon the contrivers. The Engliſh miniſtry endeavoured to apologize for the action, by pretending that it was a caſual rencounter, ariſing from the obſtinacy of the Dutch, in refuſing the honours of the flag: But the contrary was ſo well known, that even Holmes himſelf had not the aſſurance to perſiſt in this aſſeveration.

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Till this incident the States, notwithſtanding all the menaces and preparations of the Engliſh, never believed them thoroughly in earneſt; and had always expected that the affair would terminate, either in ſome demands of money, or in ſome propoſals for the advancement of the prince of Orange. The French themſelves had never much reckoned on aſſiſtance from England; and ſcarcely could believe that their ambitious projects would, contrary to every maxim of honour and policy, be forwarded by that power which was moſt intereſted, and moſt able, to oppoſe them. But Charles was too far advanced to retreat. (March 17.) He immediately iſſued a declaration of war againſt the Dutch; and ſurely reaſons more falſe and frivolous never were employed to juſtify a flagrant violation of treaty. Some complaints are there made of injuries done to the Eaſt-India company, which yet that company diſavowed: The detention of ſome Engliſh in Surinam is mentioned; though it appears that theſe perſons had voluntarily remained there: The refuſal of a Dutch fleet, on their own coaſts, to ſtrike to an Engliſh yacht, is much aggravated: And to piece up all theſe pretenſions, ſome abuſive pictures are mentioned, and repreſented as a ground of quarrel. The Dutch were long at a loſs what to make of this article; till it was diſcovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the penſionary, painted by order of certain magiſtrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-houſe, had given occaſion to the complaint. In the perſpective of this portrait, the painter had drawn ſome ſhips on fire in a harbour. This was conſtrued to be Chatham, where de Wit had really diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and had acquired honour; but little did he imagine, that, while the inſult itſelf, committed in open war, had ſo long been forgiven, the picture of it ſhould draw ſuch ſevere vengeance upon his country. The concluſion of this manifeſto, where the king ſtill profeſſed his reſolution of adhering to the triple alliance, was of a piece with the reſt of it.

Lewis's declaration of war contained more dignity, if undiſguiſed violence and injuſtice could merit that appel-

lation. He pretended only, that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been ſuch, that it did not conſiſt with his glory any longer to bear it. That monarch's preparations were in great forwardneſs; and his ambition was flattered with the moſt promiſing views of ſucceſs. Sweden was detached from the triple league: The biſhop of Munſter was engaged by the payment of ſubſidies to take part with France: The elector of Cologne had entered into the ſame alliance; and, having conſigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected; and it was from that quarter that France purpoſed to invade the United Provinces. The ſtanding force of that kingdom amounted to a hundred and eighty thouſand men; and with more than half of this great army was the French king now approaching to the Dutch frontiers. The order, economy, and induſtry of Colbert, equally ſubſervient to the ambition of the prince, and happineſs of the people, furniſhed unexhauſted treaſures: Theſe, employed by the unrelenting vigilance of Louvois, ſupplied every military preparation, and facilitated all the enterpriſes of the army: Condé, Turenne, ſeconded by Luxembourg, Crequi, and the moſt renowned generals of the age, conducted this army, and by their conduct and reputation inſpired courage into every one. The monarch himſelf, ſurrounded with a brave nobility, animated his troops by the proſpect of reward, or, what was more valued, by the hopes of his approbation. The fatigues of war gave no interruption to gaiety: Its dangers furniſhed matter for glory: And in no enterpriſe did the genius of that gallant and polite people ever break out with more diſtinguiſhed luſtre.

Though de Wit's intelligence in foreign courts was not equal to the vigilance of his domeſtic adminiſtration, he had, long before, received many ſurmiſes of this fatal confederacy; but he prepared not for defence, ſo early, or with ſuch induſtry, as the danger required. A union of England with France was evidently, he ſaw, deſtructive to the intereſts of the former kingdom; and therefore, overlooking or ignorant of the humours and ſecret views of Charles, he concluded it impoſſible, that

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ſuch pernicious projects could ever really be carried into execution. Secure in this fallacious reaſoning, he allowed the republic to remain too long in that defenceleſs ſituation, into which many concurring accidents had conſpired to throw her.

By a continued and ſucceſsful application to commerce, the people were become unwarlike, and confided entirely for their defence in that mercenary army, which they maintained. After the treaty of Weſtphalia, the States, truſting to their peace with Spain, and their alliance with France, had broken a great part of this army, and did not ſupport with ſufficient vigilance the diſcipline of the troops which remained. When the ariſtocratic party prevailed, it was thought prudent to diſmiſs many of the old experienced officers, who were devoted to the houſe of Orange; and their place was ſupplied by raw youths, the ſons or kinſmen of burgomaſters, by whoſe intereſt the party was ſupported. Theſe new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, neglected their military duty; and ſome of them, it is ſaid, were even allowed to ſerve by deputies, to whom they aſſigned a ſmall part of their pay. During the war with England, all the forces of that nation had been diſbanded: Lewis's invaſion of Flanders, followed by the triple league, occaſioned the diſmiſſion of the French regiments: And the place of theſe troops, which had ever had a chief ſhare in the honour and fortune of all the wars in the Low Countries, had not been ſupplied by any new levies.

De Wit, ſenſible of this dangerous ſituation, and alarmed by the reports which came from all quarters, exerted himſelf to ſupply thoſe defects, to which it was not eaſy of a ſudden to provide a ſuitable remedy. But every propoſal, which he could make, met with oppoſition from the Orange party, now become extremely formidable. The long and uncontrolled adminiſtration of this ſtateſman had begotten envy: The preſent incidents rouſed up his enemies and opponents, who aſcribed to his miſconduct alone the bad ſituation of the republic: And, above all, the popular affection to the young prince, which had ſo long been held in violent conſtraint, and

had thence acquired new acceſſions of force, began to diſplay itſelf, and to threaten the commonwealth with ſome great convulſion. William III. prince of Orange, was in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and gave ſtrong indications of thoſe great qualities, by which his life was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed. De Wit himſelf, by giving him an excellent education, and inſtructing him in all the principles of government and ſound policy, had generouſly contributed to make his rival formidable. Dreading the precarious ſituation of his own party, he was always reſolved, he ſaid, by conveying to the prince the knowledge of affairs, to render him capable of ſerving his country, if any future emergence ſhould ever throw the adminiſtration into his hands. The conduct of William had hitherto been extremely laudable. Notwithſtanding his powerful alliances with England and Brandenburgh, he had expreſſed his reſolution of depending entirely on the States for his advancement; and the whole tenour of his behaviour ſuited extremely the genius of that people. Silent and thoughtful; given to hear and to inquire; of a ſound and ſteady underſtanding; firm in what he once reſolved, or once denied; ſtrongly intent on buſineſs, little on pleaſure: By theſe virtues he engaged the attention of all men. And the people, ſenſible that they owed their liberty, and very exiſtence, to his family, and remembering, that his great uncle, Maurice, had been able, even in more early youth, to defend them againſt the exorbitant power of Spain, were deſirous of raiſing this prince to all the authority of his anceſtors, and hoped, from his valour and conduct alone, to receive protection againſt thoſe imminent dangers with which they were at preſent threatened.

While theſe two powerful factions ſtruggled for ſuperiority, every ſcheme for defence was oppoſed, every project retarded. What was determined with difficulty, was executed without vigour. Levies indeed were made, and the army completed to ſeventy thouſand men: The prince was appointed both general and admiral of the commonwealth, and the whole military power was put into

into his hands. But new troops could not of a ſudden acquire diſcipline and experience: And the partiſans of the prince were ſtill unſatisfied, as long as the *perpetual edict*, ſo it was called, remained in force; by which he was excluded from the ſtadtholderſhip, and from all ſhare in the civil adminiſtration.

It had always been the maxim of de Wit's party to cultivate naval affairs with extreme care, and to give the fleet a preference above the army, which they repreſented as the object of an unreaſonable partiality in the princes of Orange. The two violent wars, which had of late been waged with England, had exerciſed the valour, and improved the ſkill, of the ſailors. And, above all, de Ruyter, the great ſea commander of the age, was cloſely connected with the Louveſtein party; and every one was diſpoſed, with confidence and alacrity, to obey him. The equipment of the fleet was therefore haſtened by de Wit; in hopes that, by ſtriking at firſt a ſucceſsful blow, he might inſpire courage into the diſmayed States, and ſupport his own declining authority. He ſeems to have been, in a peculiar manner, incenſed againſt the Engliſh; and he reſolved to take revenge on them for their conduct, of which, he thought, he himſelf and his country had ſuch reaſon to complain. By the offer of a cloſe alliance for mutual defence, they had ſeduced the republic to quit the alliance of France; but no ſooner had ſhe embraced theſe meaſures, than they formed leagues for her deſtruction, with that very power which they had treacherouſly engaged her to offend. In the midſt of full peace, nay, during an intimate union, they attacked her commerce, her only means of ſubſiſtence; and, moved by ſhameful rapacity, had invaded that property, which, from a reliance on their faith, they had hoped to find unprotected and defenceleſs. Contrary to their own manifeſt intereſt, as well as to their honour, they ſtill retained a malignant reſentment for her ſucceſsful concluſion of the former war; a war which had, at firſt, ſprung from their own wanton inſolence and ambition. To repreſs ſo dangerous an enemy, would, de Wit imagined, give peculiar pleaſure, and contribute to the future ſecurity

of his country, whose prosperity was so much the object of general envy.

Actuated by like motives and views, de Ruyter put to sea with a formidable fleet, consisting of ninety-one ships of war and forty-four fire-ships. Cornelius de Wit was on board as deputy from the States. They sailed in quest of the English, who were under the command of the duke of York, and who had already joined the French under mareschal d'Etrées. (28th May.) The combined fleets lay at Solebay in a very negligent posture; and Sandwich, being an experienced officer, had given the duke warning of the danger; but received, it is said, such an answer as intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehensions. Upon the appearance of the enemy, every one ran to his post with precipitation, and many ships were obliged to cut their cables, in order to be in readiness. Sandwich commanded the van; and though determined to conquer or to perish, he so tempered his courage with prudence, that the whole fleet was visibly indebted to him for its safety. He hastened out of the bay, where it had been easy for de Ruyter with his fire-ships to have destroyed the combined fleets, which were crowded together; and by this wise measure he gave time to the duke of York, who commanded the main body, and to mareschal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to disengage themselves. He himself meanwhile rushed into battle with the Hollanders; and by presenting himself to every danger, had drawn upon him all the bravest of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship: He sunk another ship, which ventured to lay him aboard: He sunk three fire-ships, which endeavoured to grapple with him: And though his vessel was torn in pieces with shot, and of a thousand men she contained, near six hundred were laid dead upon the deck, he continued still to thunder with all his artillery in the midst of the enemy. But another fire-ship, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Warned by sir Edward Haddock, his captain, he refused to make his escape, and bravely embraced

braced death as a ſhelter from that ignominy, which a raſh expreſſion of the duke's, he thought, had thrown upon him.

During this fierce engagement with Sandwich, de Ruyter remained not inactive. He attacked the duke of York, and fought him with ſuch fury for above two hours, that of two and thirty actions, in which that admiral had been engaged, he declared this combat to be the moſt obſtinately diſputed. The duke's ſhip was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His ſquadron was overpowered with numbers; till ſir Joſeph Jordan, who had ſucceeded to Sandwich's command, came to his aſſiſtance; and the fight, being more equally balanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the Engliſh. The loſs ſuſtained by the fleets of the two maritime powers was nearly equal, if it did not rather fall more heavy on the Engliſh. The French ſuffered very little, becauſe they had ſcarcely been engaged in the action; and as this backwardneſs is not their national character, it was concluded that they had received ſecret orders to ſpare their ſhips, while the Dutch and Engliſh ſhould weaken each other by their mutual animoſity. Almoſt all the other actions during the preſent war tended to confirm this ſuſpicion.

It might be deemed honourable for the Dutch to have fought with ſome advantage the combined fleets of two ſuch powerful nations; but nothing leſs than a complete victory could ſerve the purpoſe of de Wit, or ſave his country from thoſe calamities, which from every quarter threatened to overwhelm her. He had expected, that the French would make their attack on the ſide of Maeſtricht, which was well fortified, and provided with a good garriſon; but Lewis, taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne, reſolved to invade the enemy on that frontier, which he knew to be more feeble and defenceleſs. The armies of that elector, and thoſe of Munſter, appeared on the other ſide of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States. The Dutch troops, too weak to defend ſo extenſive a frontier, were ſcattered into ſo many

many towns, that no conſiderable body remained in the field; and a ſtrong garriſon was ſcarcely to be found in any fortreſs. (14th May.) Lewis paſſed the Meuſe at Viſet; and laying ſiege to Orſoi, a town of the elector of Brandenburgh's, but garriſoned by the Dutch, he carried it in three days. He divided his army, and inveſted at once Burik, Weſel, Emerik, and Rhimberg, four places regularly fortified, and not unprovided with troops: In a few days all theſe places were ſurrendered. A general aſtoniſhment had ſeized the Hollanders, from the combination of ſuch powerful princes againſt the republic; and nowhere was reſiſtance made, ſuitable to the ancient glory or preſent greatneſs of the ſtate. Governors without experience commanded troops without diſcipline; and deſpair had univerſally extinguiſhed that ſenſe of honour, by which alone, men, in ſuch dangerous extremities, can be animated to a valorous defence.

(2d June.) Lewis advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which he prepared to paſs. To all the other calamities of the Dutch was added the exreme drought of the ſeaſon, by which the greateſt rivers were much diminiſhed, and in ſome places rendered fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the preſence of their prince, full of impetuous courage, but ranged in exact order, flung themſelves into the river: The infantry paſſed in boats: A few regiments of Dutch appeared on the other ſide, who were unable to make reſiſtance. And thus was executed without danger, but not without glory, the paſſage of the Rhine; ſo much celebrated, at that time, by the flattery of the French courtiers, and tranſmitted to poſterity by the more durable flattery of their poets.

Each ſucceſs added courage to the conquerors, and ſtruck the vanquiſhed with diſmay. The prince of Orange, though prudent beyond his age, was but newly advanced to the command, unacquainted with the army, unknown to them; and all men, by reaſon of the violent factions which prevailed, were uncertain of the authority on which they muſt depend. It was expected,

that

that the fort of Skink, famous for the ſieges which it had formerly ſuſtained, would make ſome reſiſtance; but it yielded to Turenne in a few days. The ſame general made himſelf maſter of Arnheim, Knotzembourg, and Nimeguen, as ſoon as he appeared before them. Doeſbourg at the ſame time opened its gates to Lewis: Soon after, Harderwic, Amersfort, Campen, Rhenen, Viane, Elberg, Zwol, Cuilemberg, Wageningnen, Lochem, Woerden, fell into the enemies hands. Groll and Deventer ſurrendered to the mareſchal Luxembourg, who commanded the troops of Munſter. And every hour brought to the States news of the rapid progreſs of the French, and of the cowardly defence of their own garriſons.

The prince of Orange, with his ſmall and diſcouraged army, retired into the province of Holland; where he expected, from the natural ſtrength of the country, ſince all human art and courage failed, to be able to make ſome reſiſtance. The town and province of Utrecht ſent deputies, and ſurrendered themſelves to Lewis. Naerden, a place within three leagues of Amſterdam, was ſeized by the marquis of Rochfort, and had he puſhed on to Muyden, he had eaſily gotten poſſeſſion of it. Fourteen ſtragglers of his army having appeared before the gates of that town, the magiſtrates ſent them the keys; but a ſervant-maid, who was alone in the caſtle, having raiſed the drawbridge, kept them from taking poſſeſſion of that fortreſs. The magiſtrates afterwards, finding the party ſo weak, made them drunk and took the keys from them. Muyden is ſo near to Amſterdam, that its cannon may infeſt the ſhips which enter that city.

(25th June.) Lewis with a ſplendid court made a ſolemn entry into Utrecht, full of glory, becauſe everywhere attended with ſucceſs; though more owing to the cowardice and miſconduct of his enemies, than to his own valour or prudence. Three provinces were already in his hands, Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Utrecht: Groningen was threatened; Friezeland was expoſed:

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The only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand; and the monarch deliberated concerning the proper measures for reducing them. Condé and Turenne exhorted him to dismantle all the towns which he had taken, except a few; and fortifying his main army by the garrisons, put himself in a condition of pushing his conquests. Louvois, hoping that the other provinces, weak and dismayed, would prove an easy prey, advised him to keep possession of places which might afterwards serve to retain the people in subjection. His counsel was followed; though it was found, soon after, to have been the most impolitic.

Meanwhile the people, throughout the republic, instead of collecting a noble indignation against the haughty conqueror, discharged their rage upon their own unhappy minister, on whose prudence and integrity every one formerly bestowed the merited applause. The bad condition of the armies was laid to his charge: The ill choice of governors was ascribed to his partiality: As instances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was suspected; and his former connexions with France being remembered, the populace believed, that he and his partisans had now combined to betray them to their most mortal enemy. The prince of Orange, notwithstanding his youth and inexperience, was looked on as the only saviour of the state; and men were violently driven by their fears into his party, to which they had always been led by favour and inclination.

Amsterdam alone seemed to retain some courage; and by forming a regular plan of defence, endeavoured to infuse spirit into the other cities. The magistrates obliged the burgesses to keep a strict watch: The populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed for the defence of the public. Some ships, which lay useless in the harbour, were refitted, and stationed to guard the city: And the sluices being opened, the neighbouring country, without regard to the damage sustained, was laid under water. All the provinces followed

followed the example, and ſcrupled not, in this extremity, to reſtore to the ſea thoſe fertile fields, which with great art and expenſe had been won from it.

The ſtates were aſſembled, to conſider whether any means were left to ſave the remains of their lately flouriſhing, and now diſtreſſed commonwealth. Though they were ſurrounded with waters, which barred all acceſs to the enemy, their deliberations were not conducted with that tranquillity, which could alone ſuggeſt meaſures proper to extricate them from their preſent difficulties. The nobles gave their vote, that, provided their religion, liberty, and ſovereignty, could be ſaved, every thing elſe ſhould without ſcruple be ſacrificed to the conqueror. Eleven towns concurred in the ſame ſentiments. Amſterdam ſingly declared againſt all treaty with inſolent and triumphant enemies: But notwithſtanding that oppoſition, ambaſſadors were deſpatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs. It was reſolved to ſacrifice to Lewis, Maeſtricht, and all the frontier towns which lay without the bounds of the ſeven provinces; and to pay him a large ſum for the charges of the war.

Lewis deliberated with his miniſters Louvois and Pomponne, concerning the meaſures which he ſhould embrace in the preſent emergence; and fortunately for Europe, he ſtill preferred the violent counſels of the former. He offered to evacuate his conqueſts, on condition that all duties lately impoſed on the commodities of France ſhould be taken off: That the public exerciſe of the Romiſh religion ſhould be permitted in the United Provinces; the churches ſhared with the catholics; and their prieſts maintained by appointments from the States: That all the frontier towns of the republic ſhould be yielded to him, together with Nimeguen, Skink, Knotzembourg, and that part of Guelderland which lay on the other ſide of the Rhine; as likewiſe the iſle of Bommel, that of Voorn, the fortreſs of St. Andrew, thoſe of Louveſtein and Crevecœur: That the States ſhould pay him the ſum of twenty millions of livres for the charges

charges of the war: That they ſhould every year ſend him a ſolemn embaſſy, and preſent him with a golden medal, as an acknowledgment that they owed to him the preſervation of their liberty, which, by the aſſiſtance of his predeceſſors, they had formerly acquired: And that they ſhould give entire ſatisfaction to the king of England: And he allowed them but ten days for the acceptance of theſe demands.

The ambaſſadors, ſent to London, met with ſtill worſe reception: No miniſter was allowed to treat with them; and they were retained in a kind of confinement. But, notwithſtanding this rigorous conduct of the court, the preſence of the Dutch ambaſſadors excited the ſentiments of tender compaſſion, and even indignation, among the people in general, eſpecially among thoſe who could foreſee the aim and reſult of thoſe dangerous counſels. The two moſt powerful monarchs, they ſaid, in Europe, the one by land, the other by ſea, have, contrary to the faith of ſolemn treaties, combined to exterminate an illuſtrious republic: What a diſmal proſpect does their ſucceſs afford to the neighbours of the one, and to the ſubjects of the other? Charles had formed the triple league, in order to reſtrain the power of France: A ſure proof, that he does not now err from ignorance. He had courted and obtained the applauſes of his people by that wiſe meaſure: As he now adopts contrary counſels, he muſt ſurely expect by their means to render himſelf independent of his people, whoſe ſentiments are become ſo indifferent to him. During the entire ſubmiſſion of the nation, and dutiful behaviour of the parliament, dangerous projects, without provocation, are formed to reduce them to ſubjection; and all the foreign intereſts of the people are ſacrificed in order the more ſurely to bereave them of their domeſtic liberties. Leſt any inſtance of freedom ſhould remain within their view, the United Provinces, the real barrier of England, muſt be abandoned to the moſt dangerous enemy of England; and by an univerſal combination of tyranny againſt laws and liberty, all mankind, who have retained,

gained, in any degree, their precious, though hitherto precarious, birthrights, are for ever to submit to slavery and injustice.

Though the fear of giving umbrage to his confederate had engaged Charles to treat the Dutch ambassadors with such rigour, he was not altogether without uneasiness, on account of the rapid and unexpected progress of the French arms. Were Holland entirely conquered, its whole commerce and naval force, he perceived, must become an accession to France; the Spanish Low Countries must soon follow; and Lewis, now independent of his ally, would no longer think it his interest to support him against his discontented subjects. Charles, though he never carried his attention to very distant consequences, could not but foresee these obvious events, and, though incapable of envy or jealousy, he was touched with anxiety, when he found every thing yield to the French arms, while such vigorous resistance was made to his own. He soon dismissed the Dutch ambassadors, lest they should cabal among his subjects, who bore them great favour: But he sent over Buckingham and Arlington, and soon after lord Halifax, to negotiate anew with the French king in the present prosperous situation of that monarch's affairs.

These ministers passed through Holland; and as they were supposed to bring peace to the distressed republic, they were every-where received with the loudest acclamations. "God bless the king of England! God bless "the prince of Orange! Confusion to the States!" This was every-where the cry of the populace. The ambassadors had several conferences with the States and the prince of Orange; but made no reasonable advances towards an accommodation. They went to Utrecht, where they renewed the league with Lewis, and agreed, that neither of the kings should make peace with Holland but by common consent. They next gave in their pretensions, of which the following are the principal articles: That the Dutch should give up the honour of the flag, without the least reserve or limitation; nor should whole fleets, even on the coast of Holland, refuse

to ſtrike or lower their top-ſails to the ſmalleſt ſhip, carrying the Britiſh flag: That all perſons guilty of treaſon againſt the king, or of writing ſeditious libels, ſhould, on complaint, be baniſhed for ever the dominions of the States: That the Dutch ſhould pay the king a million ſterling towards the charges of the war, together with ten thouſand pounds a year, for permiſſion to fiſh on the Britiſh ſeas: That they ſhould ſhare the Indian trade with the Engliſh: That the prince of Orange and his deſcendants ſhould enjoy the ſovereignty of the United Provinces; at leaſt, that they ſhould be inveſted with the dignities of Stadtholder, Admiral, and General, in as ample a manner as had ever been enjoyed by any of his anceſtors: And that the iſle of Walcheren, the city and caſtle of Sluis, together with the iſles of Cadſant, Goree, and Vorne, ſhould be put into the king's hands, as a ſecurity for the performance of articles.

The terms propoſed by Lewis bereaved the republic of all ſecurity againſt any invaſion by land from France: Thoſe demanded by Charles expoſed them equally to an invaſion by ſea from England: And when both were united, they appeared abſolutely intolerable, and reduced the Hollanders, who ſaw no means of defence, to the utmoſt deſpair. What extremely augmented their diſtreſs, were the violent factions with which they continued to be every-where agitated. De Wit, too pertinacious in defence of his own ſyſtem of liberty, while the very being of the commonwealth was threatened, ſtill perſevered in oppoſing the repeal of the perpetual edict, now become the object of horror to the Dutch populace. (30th June.) Their rage at laſt broke all bounds, and bore every thing before it. They roſe in an inſurrection at Dort, and by force conſtrained their burgomaſters to ſign the repeal, ſo much demanded. This proved a ſignal of a general revolt throughout all the provinces.

At Amſterdam, the Hague, Middlebourg, Rotterdam, the people flew to arms, and, trampling under foot the authority of their magiſtrates, obliged them to ſubmit to the prince of Orange. They expelled from their

their office such as displeased them: They required the prince to appoint others in their place: And agreeably to the proceeding of the populace in all ages, provided they might wreak their vengeance on their superiors, they expressed great indifference for the protection of their civil liberties.

The superior talents and virtues of de Wit made him, on this occasion, the chief object of envy, and exposed him to the utmost rage of popular prejudice. Four assassins, actuated by no other motive than mistaken zeal, had assaulted him in the streets, and after giving him many wounds, had left him for dead. One of them was punished: The others were never questioned for the crime. His brother, Cornelius, who had behaved with prudence and courage on board the fleet, was obliged by sickness to come ashore; and he was now confined to his house at Dort. Some assassins broke in upon him; and it was with the utmost difficulty that his family and servants could repel their violence. At Amsterdam, the house of the brave de Ruyter, the sole resource of the distressed commonwealth, was surrounded by the enraged populace; and his wife and children were for some time exposed to the most imminent danger.

One Tichelaer, a barber, a man noted for infamy, accused Cornelius de Wit of endeavouring by bribes to engage him in the design of poisoning the prince of Orange. The accusation, though attended with the most improbable and even absurd circumstances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude; and Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature. The judges, either blinded by the same prejudices, or not daring to oppose the popular torrent, condemned him to suffer the question. This man, who had bravely served his country in war, and who had been invested with the highest dignities, was delivered into the hands of the executioner, and torn in pieces by the most inhuman torments. Amidst the severe agonies which he endured, he still made protestations of his innocence, and fre-

quently repeated an ode of Horace, which contained ſentiments ſuited to his deplorable condition:

Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum, &c. *

The judges, however, condemned him to loſe his offices, and to be baniſhed the commonwealth. The penſionary, who had not been terrified from performing the part of a kind brother and faithful friend during this proſecution, reſolved not to deſert him on account of the unmerited infamy which was endeavoured to be thrown upon him. He came to his brother's priſon, determined to accompany him to the place of his exile. The ſignal was given to the populace. They roſe in arms: They broke open the doors of the priſon; they pulled out the two brothers; and a thouſand hands vied who ſhould firſt be imbrued in their blood. Even their death did not ſatiate the brutal rage of the multitude. They exerciſed on the dead bodies of thoſe virtuous citizens, indignities too ſhocking to be recited; and till

* Which may be thus tranſlated:

The man, whoſe mind on virtue bent,
Purſues ſome greatly good intent,
With undiverted aim,
Serene beholds the angry crowd;
Nor can their clamours, fierce and loud,
His ſtubborn honour tame.

Not the proud tyrant's fierceſt threat,
Nor ſtorms, that from their dark retreat
The lawleſs ſurges wake;
Not Jove's dread bolt that ſhakes the pole,
The firmer purpoſe of his ſoul
With all its power can ſhake.

Should Nature's frame in ruins fall,
And chaos o'er the ſinking ball
Reſume primæval ſway,
His courage chance and fate defies,
Nor feels the wreck of earth and ſkies
Obſtruct its deſtin'd way. BLACKLOCK.

tired

tired with their own fury, they permitted not the friends of the deceaſed to approach, or to beſtow on them the honours of a funeral, ſilent and unattended.

The maſſacre of the de Wits put an end for the time to the remains of their party; and all men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in expreſſing the moſt implicit obedience to the prince of Orange. The republic, though half ſubdued by foreign force, and as yet diſmayed by its misfortunes, was now firmly united under one leader, and began to collect the remains of its priſtine vigour. William, worthy of that heroic family from which he ſprang, adopted ſentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He bent all his efforts againſt the public enemy: He ſought not againſt his country any advantages which might be dangerous to civil liberty. Thoſe intolerable conditions demanded by their inſolent enemies, he exhorted the States to reject with ſcorn; and by his advice they put an end to negotiations, which ſerved only to break the courage of their fellow-citizens, and delay the aſſiſtance of their allies. He ſhowed them, that the numbers and riches of the people, aided by the advantages of ſituation, would ſtill be ſufficient, if they abandoned not themſelves to deſpair, to reſiſt, at leaſt retard, the progreſs of their enemies, and preſerve the remaining provinces, till the other nations of Europe, ſenſible of the common danger, could come to their relief. He repreſented, that as envy at their opulence and liberty had produced this mighty combination againſt them, they would in vain expect by conceſſions to ſatisfy foes, whoſe pretenſions were as little bounded by moderation as by juſtice. He exhorted them to remember the generous valour of their anceſtors, who, yet in the infancy of the ſtate, preferred liberty to every human conſideration; and rouſing their ſpirits to an obſtinate defence, repelled all the power, riches, and military diſcipline of Spain. And he profeſſed himſelf willing to tread in the ſteps of his illuſtrious predeceſſors, and hoped, that, as they had honoured him with the ſame affection which their anceſtors paid to the former

princes of Orange, they would ſecond his efforts with the ſame conſtancy and manly fortitude.

The ſpirit of the young prince infuſed itſelf into his hearers. Thoſe who lately entertained thoughts of yielding their necks to ſubjection, were now bravely determined to reſiſt the haughty victor, and to defend thoſe laſt remains of their native ſoil, of which neither the irruptions of Lewis, nor the inundation of waters, had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground fail them on which they might combat, they were ſtill reſolved not to yield the generous ſtrife; but, flying to their ſettlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in thoſe remote regions, and preſerve alive, even in the climates of ſlavery, that liberty of which Europe was become unworthy. Already they concerted meaſures for executing this extraordinary reſolution; and found that the veſſels contained in their harbours could tranſport above two hundred thouſand inhabitants to the Eaſt Indies.

The combined princes, finding at laſt ſome appearance of oppoſition, bent all their efforts to ſeduce the prince of Orange, on whoſe valour and conduct the fate of the commonwealth entirely depended. The ſovereignty of the province of Holland was offered him, and the protection of England and France, to inſure him, as well againſt the invaſion of foreign enemies, as the inſurrection of his ſubjects. All propoſals were generouſly rejected; and the prince declared his reſolution to retire into Germany, and to paſs his life in hunting on his lands there, rather than abandon the liberty of his country or betray the truſt repoſed in him. When Buckingham urged the inevitable deſtruction which hung over the United Provinces, and aſked him, whether he did not ſee that the commonwealth was ruined? *There is one certain means*, replied the prince, *by which I can be ſure never to ſee my country's ruin; I will die in the laſt ditch.*

The people in Holland had been much incited to eſpouſe the prince's party, by the hopes that the king of England, pleaſed with his nephew's elevation, would abandon thoſe

thoſe dangerous engagements into which he had entered, and would afford his protection to the diſtreſſed republic. But all theſe hopes were ſoon found to be fallacious. Charles ſtill perſiſted in his alliance with France; and the combined fleets approached the coaſt of Holland, with an Engliſh army on board, commanded by count Schomberg. It is pretended that an unuſual tide carried them off the coaſt; and that Providence thus interpoſed, in an extraordinary manner, to ſave the republic from the imminent danger to which it was expoſed. Very tempeſtuous weather, it is certain, prevailed all the reſt of the ſeaſon; and the combined fleets either were blown to a diſtance, or durſt not approach a coaſt which might prove fatal to them. Lewis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no farther ſucceſs was likely for the preſent to attend his arms, had retired to Verſailles.

The other nations of Europe regarded the ſubjection of Holland as the forerunner of their own ſlavery, and retained no hopes of defending themſelves, ſhould ſuch a mighty acceſſion be made to the already exorbitant power of France. The emperor, though he lay at a diſtance, and was naturally ſlow in his undertakings, began to put himſelf in motion; Brandenburgh ſhowed a diſpoſition to ſupport the States; Spain had ſent ſome forces to their aſſiſtance; and by the preſent efforts of the prince of Orange, and the proſpect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began already to appear. Groninghen was the firſt place that ſtopped the progreſs of the enemy: The biſhop of Munſter was repulſed from before that town, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege with loſs and diſhonour. Naerden was attempted by the prince of Orange; but mareſchal Luxembourg, breaking in upon his entrenchments with a ſudden irruption, obliged him to abandon the enterpriſe.

(1673.) There was no ally on whom the Dutch more relied for aſſiſtance than the parliament of England, which the king's neceſſities at laſt (4th Feb.) obliged him to aſſemble. The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed on this ſeſſion, which met after prorogations

continued

continued for near two years. It was evident how much the king dreaded the aſſembling of his parliament; and the diſcontents univerſally excited by the bold meaſures entered into, both in foreign and domeſtic adminiſtration, had given but too juſt foundation for his apprehenſions.

The king, however, in his ſpeech, addreſſed them with all the appearance of cordiality and confidence. He ſaid, that he would have aſſembled them ſooner, had he not been deſirous to allow them leiſure for attending their private affairs, as well as to give his people reſpite from taxes and impoſitions: That, ſince their laſt meeting, he had been forced into a war, not only juſt but neceſſary; neceſſary both for the honour and intereſt of the nation: That in order to have peace at home, while he had war abroad, he had iſſued his declaration of indulgence to diſſenters, and had found many good effects to reſult from that meaſure: That he heard of ſome exceptions which had been taken to this exerciſe of power; but he would tell them plainly, that he was reſolved to ſtick to his declaration; and would be much offended at any contradiction: And that though a rumour had been ſpread, as if the new-levied army had been intended to control law and property, he regarded that jealouſy as ſo frivolous, that he was reſolved to augment his forces next ſpring, and did not doubt but they would conſider the neceſſity of them in their ſupplies. The reſt of the buſineſs he left to the chancellor.

The chancellor enlarged on the ſame topics, and added many extraordinary poſitions of his own. He told them, that the Hollanders were the common enemies of all monarchies, eſpecially that of England, their only competitor for commerce and naval power, and the ſole obſtacle to their views of attaining an univerſal empire, as extenſive as that of ancient Rome: That, even during their preſent diſtreſs and danger, they were ſo intoxicated with theſe ambitious projects, as to ſlight all treaty, nay, to refuſe all ceſſation of hoſtilities: That the king, in entering on this war, did no more than proſecute thoſe maxims which had engaged the parliament to adviſe and approve of the laſt; and he might therefore ſafely ſay,

that *it was their war:* That the States being the eternal enemies of England, both by intereſt and inclination, the parliament had wiſely judged it neceſſary to extirpate them, and had laid it down as an eternal maxim, that *delenda eſt Carthago*, this hoſtile government by all means is to be ſubverted: And that though the Dutch pretended to have aſſurances that the parliament would furniſh no ſupplies to the king, he was confident that this hope, in which they extremely truſted, would ſoon fail them.

Before the commons entered upon buſineſs, there lay before them an affair, which diſcovered, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king; and the meaſures taken upon it proved that the houſe was not at preſent in a diſpoſition to ſubmit to them. It had been the conſtant undiſputed practice, ever ſince the parliament in 1604, for the houſe, in caſe of any vacancy, to iſſue out writs for new elections; and the chancellor, who, before that time, had had ſome precedents in his favour, had ever afterwards abſtained from all exerciſe of that authority. This indeed was one of the firſt ſteps which the commons had taken in eſtabliſhing and guarding their privileges; and nothing could be more requiſite than this precaution, in order to prevent the clandeſtine iſſuing of writs, and to enſure a fair and free election. No one but ſo deſperate a miniſter as Shafteſbury, who had entered into a regular plan for reducing the people to ſubjection, could have entertained thoughts of breaking in upon a practice ſo reaſonable and ſo well eſtabliſhed, or could have hoped to ſucceed in ſo bold an enterpriſe. Several members had taken their ſeats upon irregular writs iſſued by the chancellor; but the houſe was no ſooner aſſembled, and the ſpeaker placed in the chair, than a motion was made againſt them; and the members themſelves had the modeſty to withdraw. Their election was declared null; and new writs, in the uſual form, were iſſued by the ſpeaker.

The next ſtep taken by the commons had the appearance of ſome more complaiſance; but in reality proceeded from the ſame ſpirit of liberty and independence. They entered

entered a reſolution, that, in order to ſupply his majeſty's extraordinary occaſions, for that was the expreſſion employed, they would grant eighteen months aſſeſſment, at the rate of 70,000 pounds a month, amounting in the whole to 1,260,000 pounds. Though unwilling to come to a violent breach with the king, they would not expreſs the leaſt approbation of the war; and they gave him the proſpect of this ſupply, only that they might have permiſſion to proceed peaceably in the redreſs of the other grievances, of which they had ſuch reaſon to complain.

No grievance was more alarming, both on account of the ſecret views from which it proceeded, and the conſequences which might attend it, than the declaration of indulgence. A remonſtrance was immediately framed againſt that exerciſe of prerogative. The king defended his meaſure. The commons perſiſted in their oppoſition to it; and they repreſented, that ſuch a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free courſe of the laws, and alter the legiſlative power, which had always been acknowledged to reſide in the king and the two houſes. All men were in expectation with regard to the iſſue of this extraordinary affair. The king ſeemed engaged in honour to ſupport his meaſure; and in order to prevent all oppoſition, he had poſitively declared that he would ſupport it. The commons were obliged to perſevere, not only becauſe it was diſhonourable to be foiled, where they could plead ſuch ſtrong reaſons, but alſo becauſe, if the king prevailed in his pretenſions, an end ſeemed to be put to all the legal limitations of the conſtitution.

It is evident that Charles was now come to that delicate criſis which he ought at firſt to have foreſeen, when he embraced thoſe deſperate counſels; and his reſolutions, in ſuch an event, ought long ago to have been entirely fixed and determined. Beſides his uſual guards, he had an army encamped at Blackheath, under the command of mareſchal Schomberg, a foreigner; and many of the officers were of the catholic religion. His ally, the French king, he might expect, would ſecond him, if force became

became requiſite for reſtraining his diſcontented ſubjects, and ſupporting the meaſures which, by common conſent, they had agreed to purſue. But the king was ſtartled, when he approached ſo dangerous a precipice as that which lay before him. Were violence once offered, there could be no return, he ſaw, to mutual confidence and truſt with his people; the perils attending foreign ſuccours, eſpecially from ſo mighty a prince, were ſufficiently apparent; and the ſucceſs which his own arms had met with in the war, was not ſo great as to increaſe his authority, or terrify the malcontents from oppoſition. The deſire of power, likewiſe, which had engaged Charles in theſe precipitate meaſures, had leſs proceeded, we may obſerve, from ambition than from love of eaſe. Strict limitations of the conſtitution rendered the conduct of buſineſs complicated and troubleſome; and it was impoſſible for him, without much contrivance and intrigue, to procure the money neceſſary for his pleaſures, or even for the regular ſupport of government. When the proſpect, therefore, of ſuch dangerous oppoſition preſented itſelf, the ſame love of eaſe inclined him to retract what it ſeemed ſo difficult to maintain; and his turn of mind, naturally pliant and careleſs, made him find little objection to a meaſure which a more haughty prince would have embraced with the utmoſt reluctance. That he might yield with the better grace, he aſked the opinion of the houſe of peers, who adviſed him to comply with the commons. Accordingly the king ſent for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the ſeals. The commons expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction with this meaſure, and the moſt entire duty to his majeſty. Charles aſſured them that he would willingly paſs any law offered him, which might tend to give them ſatisfaction in all their juſt grievances.

Shaftesbury, when he found the king recede at once from ſo capital a point, which he had publicly declared his reſolution to maintain, concluded that all ſchemes for enlarging royal authority were vaniſhed, and that Charles was utterly incapable of purſuing ſuch difficult and ſuch hazardous meaſures. The parliament, he foreſaw, might

might puſh their inquiries into thoſe counſels, which were ſo generally odious; and the king, from the ſame facility of diſpoſition, might abandon his miniſters to their vengeance. He reſolved, therefore, to make his peace in time with that party which was likely to predominate, and to atone for all his violences in favour of monarchy, by like violences in oppoſition to it. Never turn was more ſudden, or leſs calculated to ſave appearances. Immediately, he entered into all the cabals of the country party; and diſcovered to them, perhaps magnified, the arbitrary deſigns of the court, in which he himſelf had borne ſo deep a ſhare. He was received with open arms by that party, who ſtood in need of ſo able a leader; and no queſtions were aſked with regard to his late apoſtacy. The various factions, into which the nation had been divided, and the many ſudden revolutions to which the public had been expoſed, had tended much to debauch the minds of men, and to deſtroy the ſenſe of honour and decorum in their public conduct.

But the parliament, though ſatisfied with the king's compliance, had not loſt all thoſe apprehenſions, to which the meaſures of the court had given ſo much foundation. A law paſſed for impoſing a teſt on all who ſhould enjoy any public office. Beſides taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and receiving the ſacrament in the eſtabliſhed church; they were obliged to abjure all belief in the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. As the diſſenters had ſeconded the efforts of the commons againſt the king's declaration of indulgence, and ſeemed reſolute to accept of no toleration in an illegal manner, they had acquired great favour with the parliament; and a project was adopted to unite the whole proteſtant intereſt againſt the common enemy, who now began to appear formidable. A bill paſſed the commons for the eaſe and relief of the proteſtant nonconformiſts; but met with ſome difficulties, at leaſt delays, in the houſe of peers.

The reſolution for ſupply was carried into a law; as a recompence to the king for his conceſſions. An act, likewiſe, of general pardon and indemnity was paſſed,

which ſcreened the miniſters from all farther inquiry. The parliament probably thought, that the beſt method of reclaiming the criminals was to ſhow them that their caſe was not deſperate. Even the remonſtrance, which the commons voted of their grievances, may be regarded as a proof, that their anger was, for the time, ſomewhat appeaſed. None of the capital points are there touched on; the breach of the triple league, the French alliance, or the ſhutting up of the exchequer. The ſole grievances mentioned are, an arbitrary impoſition on coals for providing convoys, the exerciſe of martial law, the quartering and preſſing of ſoldiers; and they prayed that, after the concluſion of the war, the whole army ſhould be diſbanded. The king gave them a gracious, though an evaſive anſwer. When buſineſs was finiſhed, the two houſes adjourned themſelves (29th March).

Though the king had receded from his declaration of indulgence, and thereby had tacitly relinquiſhed the diſpenſing power, he was ſtill reſolved, notwithſtanding his bad ſucceſs, both at home and abroad, to perſevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and conſequently in all thoſe ſecret views, whatever they were, which depended on thoſe fatal meaſures. The money granted by parliament, ſufficed to equip a fleet, of which prince Rupert was declared admiral: For the duke was ſet aſide by the teſt. Sir Edward Sprague and the earl of Oſſory commanded under the prince. A French ſquadron joined them, commanded by d'Etrées. (28th May.) The combined fleets ſet ſail towards the coaſt of Holland, and found the enemy, lying at anchor, within the ſands at Schonvelt. There is a natural confuſion attending ſea-fights, even beyond other military tranſactions; derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the ſmoke and darkneſs, in which every thing is there involved. No wonder, therefore, that accounts of thoſe battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; eſpecially when delivered by writers of the hoſtile nations, who take pleaſure in exalting the advantages of their own countrymen, and depreſſing thoſe of the enemy. All we can ſay with certainty of

this battle is, that both ſides boaſted of the victory; and we may thence infer, that the event was not deciſive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their harbours. In a week they were refitted, and preſented themſelves again to the combined fleets. (4th June.) A new action enſued, not more deciſive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great obſtinacy on either ſide; but whether the Dutch or the allies firſt retired, ſeems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loſs in the former of theſe actions fell chiefly on the French, whom the Engliſh, diffident of their intentions, took care to place under their own ſquadrons; and they thereby expoſed them to all the fire of the enemy. There ſeems not to have been a ſhip loſt on either ſide in the ſecond engagement.

It was ſufficient glory to de Ruyter, that, with a fleet much inferior to the combined ſquadrons of France and England, he could fight them without any notable diſadvantage; and it was ſufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of a deſcent in Zealand, which, had it taken place, had endangered, in the preſent circumſtances, the total overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth. Prince Rupert was alſo ſuſpected not to favour the king's projects for ſubduing Holland, or enlarging his authority at home; and from theſe motives he was thought not to have preſſed ſo hard on the enemy, as his well-known valour gave reaſon to expect. It is indeed remarkable, that, during this war, though the Engliſh, with their allies, much over-matched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, though often overborne by numbers, they ſtill exerted themſelves with the greateſt courage, and always acquired great renown, ſometimes even ſignal victories. But they were diſguſted at the preſent meaſures, which they deemed pernicious to their country; they were not ſatisfied in the juſtice of the quarrel; and they entertained a perpetual jealouſy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would, with much more pleaſure, have deſtroyed, than even the enemy themſelves.

If

If prince Rupert was not favourable to the deſigns of the court, he enjoyed as little favour from the court, at leaſt from the duke, who, though he could no longer command the fleet, ſtill poſſeſſed the chief authority in the admiralty. The prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, ſhot, proviſions, beer, and even water; and he went into harbour, that he might refit his ſhips, and ſupply their numerous neceſſities. After ſome weeks he was refitted, and he again put to ſea. (11th Auguſt.) The hoſtile fleets met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the laſt battle, which, during the courſe of ſo many years, theſe neighbouring maritime powers have diſputed with each other. De Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former: For the prince of Orange had reconciled theſe gallant rivals; and they retained nothing of their former animoſity, except that emulation, which made them exert themſelves with more diſtinguiſhed bravery againſt the enemies of their country. Brankert was oppoſed to d'Etrées, de Ruyter to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague. It is to be remarked, that in all actions theſe brave admirals laſt mentioned had ſtill ſelected each other, as the only antagoniſts worthy each other's valour; and no deciſive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle, as if there were no mean between death and victory.

D'Etrées and all the French ſquadron, except rear-admiral Martel, kept at a diſtance; and Brankert, inſtead of attacking them, bore down to the aſſiſtance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with prince Rupert. On no occaſion did the prince acquire more deſerved honour: His conduct, as well as valour, ſhone out with ſignal luſtre. Having diſengaged his ſquadron from the numerous enemies, with whom he was everywhere ſurrounded, and having joined ſir John Chichley, his rear-admiral, who had been ſeparated from him, he made haſte to the relief of Sprague, who was hard preſſed by Tromp's ſquadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague firſt engaged, was ſo diſabled, that he was

obliged to hoiſt his flag on board the St. George; while Tromp was for a like reaſon obliged to quit his ſhip, the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmoſt fury by theſe valorous rivals, and by the rear-admirals, their ſeconds. Oſſory, rear-admiral to Sprague, was preparing to board Tromp, when he ſaw the St. George terribly torn, and in a manner diſabled. Sprague was leaving her, in order to hoiſt his flag on board a third ſhip, and return to the charge; when a ſhot, which had paſſed through the St. George, took his boat, and ſunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himſelf, who beſtowed on his valour the deſerved praiſes.

Prince Rupert found affairs in this dangerous ſituation, and ſaw moſt of the ſhips in Sprague's ſquadron diſabled from fight. The engagement however was renewed, and became very cloſe and bloody. The prince threw the enemy into diſorder. To increaſe it, he ſent among them two fire-ſhips; and at the ſame time made a ſignal to the French to bear down; which if they had done, a deciſive victory muſt have enſued. But the prince, when he ſaw that they neglected his ſignal, and obſerved that moſt of his ſhips were in no condition to keep the ſea long, wiſely provided for their ſafety by making eaſy ſail towards the Engliſh coaſt. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all the actions fought during the preſent war.

The turn which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land, was more favourable. The prince of Orange beſieged and took Naerden; and from this ſucceſs gave his country reaſon to hope for ſtill more proſperous enterpriſes. Montecuculi, who commanded the Imperialiſts on the Upper Rhine, deceived, by the moſt artful conduct, the vigilance and penetration of Turenne, and making a ſudden march, ſat down before Bonne. The prince of Orange's conduct was no leſs maſterly; while he eluded all the French generals, and leaving them behind him, joined his army to that of the Imperialiſts. Bonne was taken in a few days: Several other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies:

And

And the communication being thus cut off between France and the United Provinces, Lewis was obliged to recall his forces, and to abandon all his conquests, with greater rapidity than he had at first made them. The taking of Maestricht was the only advantage which he gained this campaign.

A congress was opened at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden; but with small hopes of success. The demands of the two kings were such as must have reduced the Hollanders to perpetual servitude. In proportion as the affairs of the States rose, the kings sunk in their demands; but the States still sunk lower in their offers; and it was found impossible for the parties ever to agree on any conditions. After the French evacuated Holland, the congress broke up; and the seizure of prince William of Furstenburg by the Imperialists afforded the French and English a good pretence for leaving Cologne. The Dutch ambassadors, in their memorials, expressed all the haughtiness and disdain, so natural to a free state, which had met with such unmerited ill-usage.

(20th Oct.) The parliament of England was now assembled, and discovered much greater symptoms of ill-humour than had appeared in the last session. They had seen for some time a negotiation of marriage carried on between the duke of York and the archdutchess of Inspruc, a catholic of the Austrian family; and they had made no opposition. But when that negotiation failed, and the duke applied to a princess of the house of Modena, then in close alliance with France; this circumstance, joined to so many other grounds of discontent, raised the commons into a flame; and they remonstrated with the greatest zeal against the intended marriage. The king told them, that their remonstrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The commons still insisted; and proceeding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the standing army a grievance, and declared that they would grant no more supply, unless it appeared that the Dutch were so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions of peace. To cut short these dis-

diſagreeable attacks, the king reſolved to prorogue the parliament (4th Nov.); and with that intention he came unexpectedly to the houſe of peers, and ſent the uſher to ſummon the commons. It happened, that the ſpeaker and the uſher nearly met at the door of the houſe; but the ſpeaker being within, ſome of the members ſuddenly ſhut the door, and cried, *To the chair, to the chair*; while others cried, *The black rod is at the door*. The ſpeaker was hurried to the chair; and the following motions were inſtantly made: That the alliance with France is a grievance; that the evil counſellors about the king are a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be truſted or employed. There was a general cry, *To the queſtion, to the queſtion:* But the uſher knocking violently at the door, the ſpeaker leaped from the chair, and the houſe roſe in great confuſion.

During the interval, Shafteſbury, whoſe intrigues with the malcontent party were now become notorious, was diſmiſſed from the office of chancellor; and the great ſeal was given to ſir Heneage Finch, by the title of lord keeper. The teſt had incapacitated Clifford; and the white ſtaff was conferred on ſir Thomas Oſborne, ſoon after created earl of Danby, a miniſter of abilities, who had riſen by his parliamentary talents. Clifford retired into the country, and ſoon after died.

(1674.) The parliament had been prorogued, in order to give the duke leiſure to finiſh his marriage; but the king's neceſſities ſoon obliged him again to aſſemble them (7th Feb.); and by ſome popular acts he paved the way for the ſeſſion. But all his efforts were in vain. The diſguſt of the commons was fixed in foundations too deep to be eaſily removed. They began with applications for a general faſt; by which they intimated, that the nation was in a very calamitous condition: They addreſſed againſt the king's guards, which they repreſented as dangerous to liberty, and even as illegal, ſince they never had yet received the ſanction of parliament: They took ſome ſteps towards eſtabliſhing a new and more rigorous teſt againſt popery: And what chiefly alarmed the court, they made an attack on the members of the Cabal,

Cabal, to whose pernicious counsels they imputed all their present grievances. Clifford was dead: Shaftesbury had made his peace with the country party, and was become their leader: Buckingham was endeavouring to imitate Shaftesbury; but his intentions were as yet known to very few. A motion was therefore made in the house of commons for his impeachment: He desired to be heard at the bar; but expressed himself in so confused and ambiguous a manner, as gave little satisfaction. He was required to answer precisely to certain queries, which they proposed to him. These regarded all the articles of misconduct above mentioned; and among the rest, the following query seems remarkable: "By whose advice was the army brought "up to overawe the debates and resolutions of the house "of commons?" This shows to what length the suspicions of the house were at that time carried. Buckingham, in all his answers, endeavoured to exculpate himself, and to load Arlington. He succeeded not in the former intention: The commons voted an address for his removal. But Arlington, who was on many accounts obnoxious to the house, was attacked. Articles were drawn up against him; though the impeachment was never prosecuted.

The king plainly saw that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on a war so odious to them. He resolved therefore to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had proposed through the channel of the Spanish ambassador. With a cordiality, which, in the present disposition on both sides, was probably but affected, but which was obliging, he asked advice of the parliament. The parliament unanimously concurred, both in thanks for this gracious condescension, and in their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the most extensive terms: A regulation of trade was agreed to: All possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war: The English planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleasure: And the States agreed to pay to the king the

sum

ſum of eight hundred thouſand patacoons, near three hundred thouſand pounds. Four days after the parliament was prorogued (28th Feb.), the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people. Spain had declared that ſhe could no longer remain neuter, if hoſtilities were continued againſt Holland; and a ſenſible decay of trade was foreſeen, in caſe a rupture ſhould enſue with that kingdom. The proſpect of this loſs contributed very much to increaſe the national averſion to the preſent war, and to enliven the joy for its concluſion.

There was in the French ſervice a great body of Engliſh, to the number of ten thouſand men, who had acquired honour in every action, and had greatly contributed to the ſucceſſes of Lewis. Theſe troops, Charles ſaid, he was bound by treaty not to recall; but he obliged himſelf to the States by a ſecret article, not to allow them to be recruited. His partiality to France prevented a ſtrict execution of this engagement.

CHAP. LXVI.

Schemes of the Cabal—Remonſtrances of ſir William Temple—Campaign of 1674—A parliament—Paſſive obedience—A parliament—Campaign of 1675—Congreſs of Nimeguen—Campaign of 1676—Uncertain conduct of the king—A parliament—Campaign of 1677—Parliament's diſtruſt of the king—Marriage of the prince of Orange with the lady Mary—Plan of peace—Negotiations—Campaign of 1678—Negotiations—Peace of Nimeguen—State of affairs in Scotland.

IF we conſider the projects of the famous Cabal, it will appear hard to determine, whether the end which thoſe miniſters purſued were more blameable and pernicious, or the means, by which they were to effect it, more impolitic and imprudent. Though they might talk only of recovering or fixing the king's authority; their intention

intention could be no other than that of making him abſolute: Since it was not poſſible to regain or maintain, in oppoſition to the people, any of thoſe powers of the crown aboliſhed by late law or cuſtom, without ſubduing the people, and rendering the royal prerogative entirely uncontrollable. Againſt ſuch a ſcheme, they might foreſee, that every part of the nation would declare themſelves, not only the old parliamentary faction, which, though they kept not in a body, were ſtill numerous; but even the greateſt royaliſts, who were indeed attached to monarchy, but deſired to ſee it limited and reſtrained by law. It had appeared, that the preſent parliament, though elected during the greateſt prevalence of the royal party, was yet tenacious of popular privileges, and retained a conſiderable jealouſy of the crown, even before they had received any juſt ground of ſuſpicion. The guards, therefore, together with a ſmall army, newlevied, and undiſciplined, and compoſed too of Engliſhmen, were almoſt the only domeſtic reſources which the king could depend on in the proſecution of theſe dangerous counſels.

The aſſiſtance of the French king was, no doubt, deemed, by the Cabal, a conſiderable ſupport in the ſchemes which they were forming; but it is not eaſily conceived, that they could imagine themſelves capable of directing and employing an aſſociate of ſo domineering a character. They ought juſtly to have ſuſpected, that it would be the ſole intention of Lewis, as it evidently was his intereſt, to raiſe incurable jealouſies between the king and his people; and that he ſaw how much a ſteady uniform government in this iſland, whether free or abſolute, would form invincible barriers to his ambition. Should his aſſiſtance be demanded; if he ſent a ſmall ſupply, it would ſerve only to enrage the people, and render the breach altogether irreparable; if he furniſhed a great force, ſufficient to ſubdue the nation, there was little reaſon to truſt his generoſity, with regard to the uſe which he would make of this advantage.

In all its other parts, the plan of the Cabal, it muſt be confeſſed, appears equally abſurd and incongruous. If the

the war with Holland were attended with great ſucceſs, and involved the ſubjection of the republic; ſuch an acceſſion of force muſt fall to Lewis, not to Charles: And what hopes afterwards of reſiſting by the greateſt unanimity ſo mighty a monarch? How dangerous, or rather how ruinous, to depend upon his aſſiſtance againſt domeſtic diſcontents? If the Dutch, by their own vigour, and the aſſiſtance of allies, were able to defend themſelves, and could bring the war to an equality, the French arms would be ſo employed abroad, that no conſiderable reinforcement could thence be expected to ſecond the king's enterpriſes in England. And might not the project of overawing or ſubduing the people be eſteemed, of itſelf, ſufficiently odious, without the aggravation of ſacrificing that ſtate, which they regarded as their beſt ally, and with which, on many accounts, they were deſirous of maintaining the greateſt concord and ſtricteſt confederacy?

Whatever views likewiſe might be entertained of promoting by theſe meaſures the catholic religion; they could only tend to render all the other ſchemes abortive, and make them fall with inevitable ruin upon the projectors. The catholic religion, indeed, where it is eſtabliſhed, is better fitted than the proteſtant for ſupporting an abſolute monarchy; but would any man have thought of it as the means of acquiring arbitrary authority in England, where it was more deteſted than even ſlavery itſelf?

It muſt be allowed, that the difficulties, and even inconſiſtencies, attending the ſchemes of the Cabal, are ſo numerous and obvious, that one feels at firſt an inclination to deny the reality of thoſe ſchemes, and to ſuppoſe them entirely the chimeras of calumny and faction. But the utter impoſſibility of accounting, by any other hypotheſis, for thoſe ſtrange meaſures embraced by the court, as well as for the numerous circumſtances which accompanied them, obliges us to acknowledge (though there remains no direct evidence of it*) that a formal

* See note [K] at the end of the volume.

plan

plan was laid for changing the religion, and ſubverting the conſtitution, of England, and that the king and the miniſtry were in reality conſpirators againſt the people. What is moſt probable in human affairs, is not always true; and a very minute circumſtance, overlooked in our ſpeculations, ſerves often to explain events, which may ſeem the moſt ſurpriſing and unaccountable. Though the king poſſeſſed penetration and a ſound judgment, his capacity was chiefly fitted for ſmaller matters, and the ordinary occurrences of life; nor had he application enough to carry his view to diſtant conſequences, or to digeſt and adjuſt any plan of political operations. As he ſcarcely ever thought twice on any one ſubject, every appearance of advantage was apt to ſeduce him; and when he found his way obſtructed by unlooked-for difficulties, he readily turned aſide into the firſt path, where he expected more to gratify the natural indolence of his diſpontion. To this verſatility or pliancy of genius, he himſelf was inclined to truſt; and he thought, that after trying an experiment of enlarging his authority, and altering the national religion, he could eaſily, if it failed, return into the ordinary channel of government. But the ſuſpicions of the people, though they burſt not forth at once, were by this attempt rendered altogether incurable; and the more they reflected on the circumſtances attending it, the more reſentment and jealouſy were they apt to entertain. They obſerved, that the king never had any favourite; that he was never governed by his miniſters, ſcarcely even by his miſtreſſes; and that he himſelf was the chief ſpring of all public counſels. Whatever appearance, therefore, of a change might be aſſumed, they ſtill ſuſpected that the ſame project was ſecretly in agitation; and they deemed no precaution too great to ſecure them againſt the pernicious conſequences of ſuch meaſures.

The king, ſenſible of this jealouſy, was inclined thenceforth not to truſt his people, of whom he had even before entertained a great diffidence; and, though obliged to make a ſeparate peace, he ſtill kept up connexions with the French monarch. He apologiſed for deſerting his

his ally, by repreſenting to him all the real undiſſembled difficulties under which he laboured; and Lewis, with the greateſt complaiſance and good-humour, admitted the validity of his excuſes. The duke likewiſe, conſcious that his principles and conduct had rendered him ſtill more obnoxious to the people, maintained on his own account a ſeparate correſpondence with the French court, and entered into particular connexions with Lewis, which theſe princes dignified with the name of friendſhip. The duke had only in view to ſecure his ſucceſſion, and favour the catholics; and it muſt be acknowledged to his praiſe, that, though his ſchemes were, in ſome particulars, dangerous to the people, they gave the king no juſt ground of jealouſy. A dutiful ſubject, and an affectionate brother, he knew no other rule of conduct than obedience; and the ſame unlimited ſubmiſſion which afterwards, when king, he exacted of his people, he was ever willing, before he aſcended the throne, to pay to his ſovereign.

As the king was at peace with all the world, and almoſt the only prince in Europe placed in that agreeable ſituation, he thought proper to offer his mediation to the contending powers, in order to compoſe their differences. France, willing to negotiate under ſo favourable a mediator, readily accepted of Charles's offer; but it was apprehended, that, for a like reaſon, the allies would be inclined to refuſe it. In order to give a ſanction to his new meaſures, the king invited Temple from his retreat, and appointed him ambaſſador to the States. That wiſe miniſter, reflecting on the unhappy iſſue of his former undertakings, and the fatal turn of counſels which had occaſioned it, reſolved, before he embarked anew, to acquaint himſelf, as far as poſſible, with the real intentions of the king, in thoſe popular meaſures which he ſeemed again to have adopted. After blaming the dangerous ſchemes of the Cabal, which Charles was deſirous to excuſe, he told his majeſty very plainly, that he would find it extremely difficult, if not abſolutely impoſſible, to introduce into England the ſame ſyſtem of government and religion which was eſtabliſhed in France: That the univerſal

univerſal bent of the nation was againſt both; and it required ages to change the genius and ſentiments of a people: That many, who were at bottom indifferent in matters of religion, would yet oppoſe all alterations on that head; becauſe they conſidered, that nothing but force of arms could ſubdue the reluctance of the people againſt popery; after which, they knew, there could be no ſecurity for civil liberty: That in France every circumſtance had long been adjuſted to that ſyſtem of government, and tended to its eſtabliſhment and ſupport: That the commonalty, being poor and diſpirited, were of no account; the nobility, engaged by the proſpect or poſſeſſion of numerous offices, civil and military, were entirely attached to the court; the eccleſiaſtics, retained by like motives, added the ſanction of religion to the principles of civil policy: That in England a great part of the landed property belonged either to the yeomanry or middling gentry; the king had few offices to beſtow; and could not himſelf even ſubſiſt, much leſs maintain an army, except by the voluntary ſupplies of his parliament: That if he had an army on foot, yet, if compoſed of Engliſhmen, they would never be prevailed on to promote ends which the people ſo much feared and hated: That the Roman catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two hundredth; and it ſeemed againſt all common ſenſe to hope, by one part, to govern ninety-nine, who were of contrary ſentiments and diſpoſitions: And that foreign troops, if few, would tend only to inflame hatred and diſcontent; and how to raiſe and bring over at once, or to maintain many, it was very difficult to imagine. To theſe reaſonings Temple added the authority of Gourville, a Frenchman, for whom he knew the king had entertained a great eſteem. "A king of England," ſaid Gourville, "who will be *the man of his people*, is "the greateſt king in the world: But if he will be any "thing more, he is nothing at all." The king heard, at firſt, this diſcourſe with ſome impatience; but being a dexterous diſſembler, he ſeemed moved at laſt, and laying his hand on Temple's, ſaid, with an appear-

ing cordiality, "And I will be the man of my "people."

Temple, when he went abroad, soon found, that the scheme of mediating a peace was likely to prove abortive. The allies, besides their jealousy of the king's mediation, expressed a great ardour for the continuance of war. Holland had stipulated with Spain never to come to an accommodation, till all things in Flanders were restored to the condition in which they had been left by the Pyrenean treaty. The emperor had high pretensions in Alsace; and, as the greater part of the empire joined in the alliance, it was hoped that France, so much overmatched in force, would soon be obliged to submit to the terms demanded of her. The Dutch, indeed, oppressed by heavy taxes, as well as checked in their commerce, were desirous of peace; and had few or no claims of their own to retard it: But they could not in gratitude, or even in good policy, abandon allies, to whose protection they had so lately been indebted for their safety. The prince of Orange likewise, who had great influence in their councils, was all on fire for military fame, and was well pleased to be at the head of armies, from which such mighty successes were expected. Under various pretences, he eluded, during the whole campaign, the meeting with Temple; and after the troops were sent into winter-quarters, he told that minister, in his first audience, that till greater impression were made on France, reasonable terms could not be hoped for; and it were therefore vain to negotiate.

The success of the campaign had not answered expectation. The prince of Orange, with a superior army, was opposed in Flanders to the prince of Condé, and had hoped to penetrate into France by that quarter, where the frontier was then very feeble. After long endeavouring, though in vain, to bring Condé to a battle, he rashly exposed, at Seneff, a wing of his army; and that active prince failed not at once to see and to seize the advantage. But this imprudence of the prince of Orange was amply compensated by his behaviour in that obstinate and bloody action which ensued. He rallied his dismayed

envyed troops; he led them to the charge; he puſhed the veteran and martial troops of France; and he obliged the prince of Condé, notwithſtanding his age and character, to exert greater efforts, and to riſque his perſon more than in any action, where, even during the heat of youth, he had ever commanded. After ſun-ſet, the action was continued by the light of the moon; and it was darkneſs at laſt, not the wearineſs of the combatants, which put an end to the conteſt, and left the victory undecided. "The prince of Orange," ſaid Condé, with candour and generoſity, "has acted, in every thing, "like an old captain, except venturing his life too like a "young ſoldier." Oudenarde was afterwards inveſted by the prince of Orange; but he was obliged, by the Imperial and Spaniſh generals, to raiſe the ſiege on the approach of the enemy. He afterwards beſieged and took Grave; and at the beginning of winter, the allied armies broke up, with great diſcontents and complaints on all ſides.

The allies were not more ſucceſsful in other places. Lewis, in a few weeks, reconquered Franchecomté. In Alſace, Turenne diſplayed, againſt a much ſuperior enemy, all that military ſkill, which had long rendered him the moſt renowned captain of his age and nation. By a ſudden and forced march, he attacked and beat at Sintzheim the duke of Lorraine, and Caprara, general of the Imperialiſts. Seventy thouſand Germans poured into Alſace, and took up their quarters in that province. Turenne, who had retired into Lorraine, returned unexpectedly upon them. He attacked and defeated a body of the enemy at Mulhauſen. He chaſed from Colmar the elector of Brandenburgh, who commanded the German troops. He gained a new advantage at Turkheim. And having diſlodged all the allies, he obliged them to repaſs the Rhine, full of ſhame for their multiplied defeats, and ſtill more, of anger and complaints againſt each other.

In England, all theſe events were conſidered by the people with great anxiety and concern; though the king and his miniſters affected great indifference with regard

to them. Conſiderable alterations were about this time made in the Engliſh miniſtry. Buckingham was diſmiſſed, who had long, by his wit and entertaining humour, poſſeſſed the king's favour. Arlington, now chamberlain, and Danby the treaſurer, poſſeſſed chiefly the king's confidence. Great hatred and jealouſy took place between theſe miniſters; and public affairs were ſomewhat diſturbed by their quarrels. But Danby daily gained ground with his maſter: And Arlington declined in the ſame proportion. Danby was a frugal miniſter; and, by his application and induſtry, he brought the revenue into tolerable order. He endeavoured ſo to conduct himſelf as to give offence to no party; and the conſequence was, that he was able entirely to pleaſe none. He was a declared enemy to the French alliance; but never poſſeſſed authority enough to overcome the prepoſſeſſions which the king and the duke retained towards it. It muſt be aſcribed to the prevalence of that intereſt, aided by money remitted from Paris, that the parliament was aſſembled ſo late this year; leſt they ſhould attempt to engage the king in meaſures againſt France, during the enſuing campaign. They met not till the approach of ſummer (1675, April 13*.)

Every ſtep, taken by the commons, diſcovered that ill-humour and jealouſy, to which the late open meaſures of the king, and his preſent ſecret attachments, gave but too juſt foundation. They drew up a new bill againſt popery, and reſolved to inſert in it many ſevere clauſes for the detection and proſecution of prieſts: They preſented addreſſes a ſecond time againſt Lauderdale; and when the king's anſwer was not ſatisfactory, they ſeemed ſtill determined to perſevere in their applications: An accuſation was moved againſt Danby; but upon examining the ſeveral articles, it was not found to contain

* This year, on the 25th of March, died Henry Cromwel, ſecond ſon of the protector, in the 47th year of his age. He had lived unmoleſted in a private ſtation, ever ſince the king's reſtoration, which he rather favoured than oppoſed.

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any juſt reaſons of a proſecution; and was therefore dropped: They applied to the king for recalling his troops from the French ſervice; and as he only promiſed that they ſhould not be recruited, they appeared to be much diſſatisfied with the anſwer: A bill was brought in, making it treaſon to levy money without authority of parliament: Another, vacating the ſeats of ſuch members as accepted of offices: Another, to ſecure the perſonal liberty of the ſubject, and to prevent ſending any perſon priſoner beyond ſea.

That the court party might not be idle during theſe attacks, a bill for a new teſt was introduced into the houſe of peers by the earl of Lindeſey. All members of either houſe, and all who poſſeſſed any office, were by this bill required to ſwear, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the king; that they abhorred the traiterous poſition, of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe who were commiſſioned by him; and that they will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the proteſtant religion, or of the eſtabliſhed government either in church or ſtate.

Great oppoſition was made to this bill; as might be expected from the preſent diſpoſition of the nation. During ſeventeen days, the debates were carried on with much zeal; and all the reaſon and learning of both parties were diſplayed on the occaſion. The queſtion, indeed, with regard to reſiſtance, was a point which entered into the controverſies of the old parties, cavalier and roundhead; as it made an eſſential part of the preſent diſputes between court and country. Few neuters were found in the nation: But among ſuch as could maintain a calm indifference, there prevailed ſentiments wide of thoſe which were adopted by either party. Such perſons thought, that all general ſpeculative declarations of the legiſlature, either for or againſt reſiſtance, were equally impolitic, and could ſerve to no other purpoſe, than to perpetuate in their turn the triumph of one faction over another: That the ſimplicity retained in the ancient laws of England, as well as in the laws of every other coun-

try, ought ſtill to be preſerved, and was beſt calculated to prevent the extremes on either ſide: That the abſolute excluſion of reſiſtance, in all poſſible caſes, was founded on *falſe* principles; its expreſs admiſſion might be attended with *dangerous* conſequences; and there was no neceſſity for expoſing the public to either inconvenience: That if a choice muſt neceſſarily be made in the caſe, the preference of utility to truth in public inſtitutions was apparent; nor could the ſuppoſition of reſiſtance beforehand, and in general terms, be ſafely admitted in any government: That even in mixed monarchies, where that ſuppoſition ſeemed moſt requiſite, it was yet entirely ſuperfluous; ſince no man, on the approach of extraordinary neceſſity, could be at a loſs, though not directed by legal declarations, to find the proper remedy: That even thoſe who might, at a diſtance, and by ſcholaſtic reaſoning, exclude all reſiſtance, would yet hearken to the voice of nature; when evident ruin, both to themſelves and to the public, muſt attend a ſtrict adherence to their pretended principles: That the queſtion, as it ought thus to be entirely excluded from all determinations of the legiſlature, was, even among private reaſoners, ſomewhat frivolous, and little better than a diſpute of words: That the one party could not pretend that reſiſtance ought ever to become a familiar practice; the other would ſurely have recourſe to it in great extremities; And thus the difference could only turn on the degrees of danger or oppreſſion, which would warrant this irregular remedy; a difference, which, in a general queſtion, it was impoſſible, by any language, preciſely to fix or determine.

There were many other abſurdities in this teſt, particularly that of binding men by oath not to alter the government either in church or ſtate; ſince all human inſtitutions are liable to abuſe, and require continual amendments, which are, in reality, ſo many alterations. It is not indeed poſſible to make a law which does not innovate, more or leſs, in the government. Theſe difficulties produced ſuch obſtructions to the bill, that it was carried only by two voices in the houſe of peers. All the

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popiſh lords, headed by the earl of Briſtol, voted againſt it. It was ſent down to the houſe of commons, where it was likely to undergo a ſcrutiny ſtill more ſevere.

But a quarrel, which enſued between the two houſes, prevented the paſſing of every bill projected during the preſent ſeſſion. One Dr. Shirley, being caſt in a law-ſuit before chancery againſt ſir John Fag, a member of the houſe of commons, preferred a petition of appeal to the houſe of peers. The lords received it, and ſummoned Fag to appear before them. He complained to the lower houſe, who eſpouſed his cauſe. They not only maintained, that no member of their houſe could be ſummoned before the peers: They alſo aſſerted, that the upper houſe could receive no appeals from any court of equity; a pretenſion which extremely retrenched the juriſdiction of the peers, and which was contrary to the practice that had prevailed during this whole century. The commons ſend Shirley to priſon; the lords aſſert their powers. Conferences are tried; but no accommodation enſues. Four lawyers are ſent to the Tower by the commons, for tranſgreſſing the orders of the houſe, and pleading in this cauſe before the peers. The peers denominate this arbitrary commitment a breach of the great charter, and order the lieutenant of the Tower to releaſe the priſoners: He declines obedience: They apply to the king, and deſire him to puniſh the lieutenant for his contempt. The king ſummons both houſes; exhorts them to unanimity; and informs them, that the preſent quarrel had ariſen from the contrivance of his and their enemies, who expected by that means to force a diſſolution of the parliament. His advice has no effect: The commons continue as violent as ever; and the king, finding that no buſineſs could be finiſhed, at laſt (8th June) prorogued the parliament.

When the parliament was again aſſembled (13th Oct.), there appeared not in any reſpect a change in the diſpoſitions of either houſe. The king deſired ſupplies, as well for the building of ſhips, as for taking off anticipations, which lay upon his revenue. He even confeſſed, that he had not been altogether ſo frugal as he might

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have been, and as he resolved to be for the future; though he asserted, that, to his great satisfaction, he had found his expenses by no means so exorbitant as some had represented them. The commons took into consideration the subject of supply. They voted 300,000 pounds for the building of ships; but they appropriated the sum by very strict clauses. They passed a resolution not to grant any supply for taking off the anticipations of the revenue *. This vote was carried in a full house, by a majority of four only: So nearly were the parties balanced. The quarrel was revived, to which Dr. Shirley's cause had given occasion. The proceedings of the commons discovered the same violence as during the last session. A motion was made in the house of peers, but rejected, for addressing the king to dissolve the present parliament. (22d Nov.) The king contented himself with proroguing them to a very long term. Whether these quarrels between the houses arose from contrivance or accident, was not certainly known. Each party might, according to their different views, esteem themselves either gainers or losers by them. The court might desire to obstruct all attacks from the commons, by giving them other employment. The country party might desire the dissolution of a parliament, which, notwithstanding all disgusts, still contained too many royalists, ever to serve all the purposes of the malcontents.

Soon after the prorogation, there passed an incident, which in itself is trivial, but tends strongly to mark the genius of the English government, and of Charles's administration, during this period. The liberty of the constitution, and the variety as well as violence of the parties, had begotten a propensity for political conversation; and as the coffee-houses in particular were the

* Several historians have affirmed, that the commons found, this session, upon inquiry, that the king's revenue was 1,600,000 pounds a year, and that the necessary expense was but 700,000 pounds; and have appealed to the Journals for a proof. But there is not the least appearance of this in the Journals; and the fact is impossible.

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ſcenes, where the conduct of the king and the miniſtry was canvaſſed with great freedom, a proclamation was iſſued to ſuppreſs theſe places of rendezvous. Such an act of power, during former reigns, would have been grounded entirely on the prerogative; and before the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, no ſcruple would have been entertained with regard to that exerciſe of authority. But Charles, finding doubts to ariſe upon his proclamation, had recourſe to the judges, who ſupplied him with a chicane, and that too a frivolous one, by which he might juſtify his proceedings. The law, which ſettled the exciſe, enacted, that licences for retailing liquors might be refuſed to ſuch as could not find ſecurity for payment of the duties. But coffee was not a liquor ſubjected to exciſe; and even this power of refuſing licences was very limited, and could not reaſonably be extended beyond the intention of the act. The king therefore, obſerving the people to be much diſſatisfied, yielded to a petition of the coffee-men, who promiſed for the future to reſtrain all ſeditious diſcourſe in their houſes; and the proclamation was recalled.

This campaign proved more fortunate to the confederates than any other during the whole war. The French took the field in Flanders with a numerous army; and Lewis himſelf ſerved as a volunteer under the prince of Condé. But notwithſtanding his great preparations, he could gain no advantages but the taking of Huy and Limbourg, places of ſmall conſequence. The prince of Orange, with a conſiderable army, oppoſed him in all his motions; and neither ſide was willing, without a viſible advantage, to hazard a general action, which might be attended either with the entire loſs of Flanders on the one hand, or the invaſion of France on the other. Lewis, tired of ſo unactive a campaign, returned to Verſailles; and the whole ſummer paſſed in the Low Countries without any memorable event.

Turenne commanded on the Upper Rhine, in oppoſition to his great rival Montecuculi, general of the Imperialiſts. The object of the latter was to paſs the Rhine, to penetrate into Alſace, Lorraine, or Burgundy,

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and to fix his quarters in theſe provinces: The aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and to diſappoint all the ſchemes of his enemy. The moſt conſummate ſkill was diſplayed on both ſides; and if any ſuperiority appeared in Turenne's conduct, it was chiefly aſcribed to his greater vigour of body, by which he was enabled to inſpect all the poſts in perſon, and could on the ſpot take the juſteſt meaſures for the execution of his deſigns. By poſting himſelf on the German ſide of the Rhine, he not only kept Montecuculi from paſſing that river: He had alſo laid his plan in ſo maſterly a manner, that, in a few days, he muſt have obliged the Germans to decamp, and have gained a conſiderable advantage over them; when a period was put to his life, by a random ſhot, which ſtruck him on the breaſt as he was taking a view of the enemy. The conſternation of his army was inexpreſſible. The French troops, who, a moment before, were aſſured of victory, now conſidered themſelves as entirely vanquiſhed; and the Germans, who would have been glad to compound for a ſafe retreat, expected no leſs than the total deſtruction of their enemy. But de Lorges, nephew to Turenne, ſucceeded him in the command, and poſſeſſed a great ſhare of the genius and capacity of his predeceſſor. By his ſkilful operations, the French were enabled to repaſs the Rhine, without conſiderable loſs; and this retreat was deemed equally glorious with the greateſt victory. The valour of the Engliſh troops, who were placed in the rear, greatly contributed to ſave the French army. They had been ſeized with the ſame paſſion as the native troops of France, for their brave general, and fought with ardour to revenge his death on the Germans. The duke of Marlborough, then captain Churchill, here learned the rudiments of that art, which he afterwards practiſed with ſuch fatal ſucceſs againſt France.

The prince of Condé left the army in Flanders under the command of Luxembourg; and carrying with him a conſiderable reinforcement, ſucceeded to Turenne's command. He defended Alſace from the Germans, who had paſſed the Rhine, and invaded that province. He

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obliged them at first to raise the siege of Hagenau, then that of Saberne. He eluded all their attempts to bring him to a battle. And having dexterously prevented them from establishing themselves in Alsace, he forced them, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, to repass the Rhine, and to take up winter-quarters in their own country.

After the death of Turenne, a detachment of the German army was sent to the siege of Treves: An enterprise, in which the Imperialists, the Spaniards, the Palatine, the duke of Lorraine, and many other princes, passionately concurred. The project was well concerted, and executed with vigour. Mareschal Crequi, on the other hand, collected an army, and advanced with a view of forcing the Germans to raise the siege. They left a detachment to guard their lines, and, under the command of the dukes of Zell and Osnaburgh, marched in quest of the enemy. At Consarbric, they fell unexpectedly, and with superior numbers, on Crequi, and put him to rout. He escaped with four attendants only; and throwing himself into Treves, resolved, by a vigorous defence, to make atonement for his former error or misfortune. The garrison was brave, but not abandoned to that total despair by which their governor was actuated. They mutinied against his obstinacy; capitulated for themselves; and because he refused to sign the capitulation, they delivered him a prisoner into the hands of the enemy.

It is remarkable that this defeat, given to Crequi, is almost the only one which the French received at land, from Rocroi to Blenheim, during the course of above sixty years; and these too, full of bloody wars against potent and martial enemies: Their victories almost equal the number of years during that period. Such was the vigour and good conduct of that monarchy! And such too were the resources and refined policy of the other European nations, by which they were enabled to repair their losses, and still to confine that mighty power nearly within its ancient limits! A fifth part of these victories would

would have ſufficed, in another period, to have given to France the empire of Europe.

The Swedes had been engaged, by the payment of large ſubſidies, to take part with Lewis, and invade the territories of the elector of Brandenburgh in Pomerania. That elector, joined by ſome Imperialiſts from Sileſia, fell upon them with bravery and ſucceſs. He ſoon obliged them to evacuate his part of that country, and he purſued them into their own. He had an interview with the king of Denmark, who had now joined the confederates, and reſolved to declare war againſt Sweden. Theſe princes concerted meaſures for puſhing the victory.

To all theſe misfortunes againſt foreign enemies were added ſome domeſtic inſurrections of the common people in Guienne and Britanny. Though ſoon ſuppreſſed, they divided the force and attention of Lewis. The only advantage, gained by the French, was at ſea. Meſſina in Sicily had revolted; and a fleet under the duke de Vivonne was deſpatched to ſupport the rebels. The Dutch had ſent a ſquadron to aſſiſt the Spaniards. A battle enſued, where de Ruyter was killed. This event alone was thought equivalent to a victory.

The French, who, twelve years before, had ſcarcely a ſhip of war in any of their harbours, had raiſed themſelves, by means of perſeverance and policy, to be, in their preſent force, though not in their reſources, the firſt maritime power in Europe. The Dutch, while in alliance with them againſt England, had ſupplied them with ſeveral veſſels, and had taught them the rudiments of the difficult art of ſhip-building. The Engliſh next, when in alliance with them againſt Holland, inſtructed them in the method of fighting their ſhips, and of preſerving order in naval engagements. Lewis availed himſelf of every opportunity to aggrandiſe his people, while Charles, ſunk in indolence and pleaſure, neglected all the noble arts of government; or if at any time he rouſed himſelf from his lethargy, that induſtry, by reaſon of the unhappy projects which he embraced, was often

often more pernicious to the public than his inactivity itſelf. He was as anxious to promote the naval power of France, as if the ſafety of his crown had depended on it; and many of the plans executed in that kingdom, were firſt, it is ſaid, digeſted and corrected by him.

(1676.) The ſucceſſes of the allies had been conſiderable the laſt campaign; but the Spaniards and Imperialiſts well knew, that France was not yet ſufficiently broken, nor willing to ſubmit to the terms which they reſolved to impoſe upon her. Though they could not refuſe the king's mediation, and Nimeguen, after many difficulties, was at laſt fixed on as the place of congreſs; yet, under one pretence or other, they ſtill delayed ſending their ambaſſadors, and no progreſs was made in the negotiation. Lord Berkeley, ſir William Temple, and ſir Lionel Jenkins, were the Engliſh miniſters at Nimeguen. The Dutch, who were impatient for peace, ſoon appeared: Lewis, who hoped to divide the allies, and who knew that he himſelf could neither be ſeduced nor forced into a diſadvantageous peace, ſent ambaſſadors: The Swedes, who hoped to recover by treaty what they had loſt by arms, were alſo forward to negotiate. But as theſe powers could not proceed of themſelves to ſettle terms, the congreſs, hitherto, ſerved merely as an amuſement to the public.

It was by the events of the campaign, not the conferences among the negotiators, that the articles of peace were to be determined. The Spaniſh towns, ill fortified and worſe defended, made but a feeble reſiſtance to Lewis; who, by laying up magazines during the winter, was able to take the field early in the ſpring, before the forage could be found in the open country. In the month of April he laid ſiege to Condé, and took it by ſtorm in four days. Having ſent the duke of Orleans to beſiege Bouchaine, a ſmall but important fortreſs, he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly with his main army, as to hinder the confederates from relieving it, or fighting without diſadvantage. The prince of Orange, in ſpite of the difficulties of the ſeaſon, and

the want of proviſions, came in ſight of the French army; but his induſtry ſerved to no other purpoſe than to render him ſpectator of the ſurrender of Bouchaine. Both armies ſtood in awe of each other, and were unwilling to hazard an action, which might be attended with the moſt important conſequences. Lewis, though he wanted not perſonal courage, was little enterpriſing in the field; and being reſolved this campaign to reſt contented with the advantages which he had ſo early obtained, he thought proper to intruſt his army to mareſchal Schomberg, and retired himſelf to Verſailles. After his departure, the prince of Orange laid ſiege to Maeſtricht; but meeting with an obſtinate reſiſtance, he was obliged, on the approach of Schomberg, who in the mean time had taken Aire, to raiſe the ſiege. He was incapable of yielding to adverſity, or bending under misfortunes: But he began to foreſee, that, by the negligence and errors of his allies, the war in Flanders muſt neceſſarily have a very unfortunate iſſue.

On the Upper Rhine, Philipſbourg was taken by the Imperialiſts. In Pomerania, the Swedes were ſo unſucceſsful againſt the Danes and Brandenburghers, that they ſeemed to be loſing apace all thoſe poſſeſſions, which, with ſo much valour and good fortune, they had acquired in Germany.

About the beginning of winter, the congreſs of Nimeguen was pretty full, and the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and Spain, two powers ſtrictly conjoined by blood and alliance, at laſt appeared. The Dutch had threatened, if they abſented themſelves any longer, to proceed to a ſeparate treaty with France. In the conferences and negotiations, the diſpoſition of the parties became every day more apparent.

(1677.) The Hollanders, loaded with debts and haraſſed with taxes, were deſirous of putting an end to a war, in which, beſides the diſadvantages attending all leagues, the weakneſs of the Spaniards, the divisions and delays of the Germans, prognoſticated nothing but diſgrace and misfortune. Their commerce languiſhed; and what gave them ſtill greater anxiety, the commerce

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of England, by reaſon of her neutrality, flouriſhed extremely; and they were apprehenſive, leſt advantages, once loſt, would never thoroughly be regained. They had themſelves no farther motive for continuing the war, than to ſecure a good frontier to Flanders; but gratitude to their allies ſtill engaged them to try whether another campaign might procure a peace, which would give general ſatisfaction. The prince of Orange, urged by motives of honour, of ambition, and of animoſity againſt France, endeavoured to keep them ſteady to this reſolution.

The Spaniards, not to mention the other incurable weakneſſes into which their monarchy was fallen, were diſtracted with domeſtic diſſenſions between the parties of the queen regent and don John, natural brother to their young ſovereign. Though unable of themſelves to defend Flanders, they were reſolute not to conclude a peace, which would leave it expoſed to every aſſault or inroad; and while they made the moſt magnificent promiſes to the States, the real truſt was in the protection of England. They ſaw that, if that ſmall but important territory were once ſubdued by France, the Hollanders, expoſed to ſo terrible a power, would fall into dependance, and would endeavour, by ſubmiſſions, to ward off that deſtruction to which a war, in the heart of their ſtate, muſt neceſſarily expoſe them. They believed that Lewis, ſenſible how much greater advantages he might reap from the alliance than from the ſubjection of the republic, which muſt ſcatter its people and depreſs its commerce, would be ſatisfied with very moderate conditions, and would turn his enterpriſes againſt his other neighbours. They thought it impoſſible but the people and parliament of England, foreſeeing theſe obvious conſequences, muſt at laſt force the king to take part in the affairs of the continent, in which their intereſts were ſo deeply concerned. And they truſted, that even the king himſelf, on the approach of ſo great a danger, muſt open his eyes, and ſacrifice his prejudices in favour of France, to the ſafety of his own dominions.

But Charles here found himſelf entangled in ſuch oppoſite motives and engagements, as he had not reſolution enough to break, or patience to unravel. On the one hand, he always regarded his alliance with France as a ſure reſource in caſe of any commotions among his own ſubjects; and whatever ſchemes he might ſtill retain for enlarging his authority, or altering the eſtabliſhed religion, it was from that quarter alone he could expect aſſiſtance. He had actually in ſecret ſold his neutrality to France, and he received remittances of a million of livres a-year, which was afterwards increaſed to two millions; a conſiderable ſupply in the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of his revenue. And he dreaded leſt the parliament ſhould treat him as they had formerly done his father; and after they had engaged him in a war on the continent, ſhould take advantage of his neceſſities, and make him purchaſe ſupplies by ſacrificing his prerogative and abandoning his miniſters.

On the other hand, the cries of his people and parliament, ſeconded by Danby, Arlington, and moſt of his miniſters, incited him to take part with the allies, and to correct the unequal balance of power in Europe. He might apprehend danger from oppoſing ſuch earneſt deſires: He might hope for large ſupplies if he concurred with them: And however inglorious and indolent his diſpoſition, the renown of acting as arbiter of Europe would probably at intervals rouſe him from his lethargy, and move him to ſupport the high character with which he ſtood inveſted.

It is worthy of obſervation, that, during this period, the king was, by every one, abroad and at home, by France and by the allies, allowed to be the undiſputed arbiter of Europe; and no terms of peace, which he would have preſcribed, could have been refuſed by either party. Though France afterwards found means to reſiſt the ſame alliance, joined with England; yet was ſhe then obliged to make ſuch violent efforts as quite exhauſted her; and it was the utmoſt neceſſity which puſhed her to find reſources, far ſurpaſſing her own expectations. Charles was ſenſible, that, ſo long as the war continued abroad,

abroad, he ſhould never enjoy eaſe at home, from the impatience and importunity of his ſubjects; yet could he not reſolve to impoſe a peace by openly joining himſelf with either party. Terms advantageous to the allies muſt loſe him the friendſhip of France: The contrary would enrage his parliament. Between theſe views, he perpetually fluctuated; and from his conduct, it is obſervable, that a careleſs remiſs diſpoſition, agitated by oppoſite motives, is capable of as great inconſiſtencies as are incident even to the greateſt imbecility and folly.

The parliament was aſſembled (15th Feb.); and the king made them a plauſible ſpeech, in which he warned them againſt all differences among themſelves; expreſſed a reſolution to do his part for bringing their conſultations to a happy iſſue; and offered his conſent to any laws for the farther ſecurity of their religion, liberty, and property. He then told them of the decayed condition of the navy; and aſked money for repairing it; He informed them, that part of his revenue, the additional exciſe, was ſoon to expire: And he added theſe words, "You may at any time ſee the yearly eſtabliſhed "expenſe of the government, by which it will appear, "that, the conſtant and unavoidable charge being paid, "there will remain no overplus towards anſwering thoſe "contingencies, which may happen in all kingdoms, "and which have been a conſiderable burden on me "this laſt year."

Before the parliament entered upon buſineſs, they were ſtopped by a doubt concerning the legality of their meeting. It had been enacted by an old law of Edward III. "That parliaments ſhould be held once "every year, or oftner, if need be." The laſt prorogation had been longer than a year; and being ſuppoſed on that account illegal, it was pretended to be equivalent to a diſſolution. The conſequence ſeems by no means juſt; and beſides, a later act, that which repealed the triennial law, had determined, that it was neceſſary to hold parliaments only once in three years.

Such weight, however, was put on this cavil, that Buckingham, Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and Wharton, insisted strenuously in the house of peers on the invalidity of the parliament, and the nullity of all its future acts. For such dangerous positions, they were sent to the Tower, there to remain during the pleasure of his majesty and the house. Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, made submissions, and were soon after released. But Shaftesbury, more obstinate in his temper, and desirous of distinguishing himself by his adherence to liberty, sought the remedy of law; and being rejected by the judges, he was, at last, after a twelvemonth's imprisonment, obliged to make the same submissions; upon which he was also released.

The commons at first seemed to proceed with temper. They granted the sum of 586,000 pounds, for building thirty ships; though they strictly appropriated the money to that service. Estimates were given in of the expense; but it was afterwards found that they fell short near 100,000 pounds. They also voted, agreeably to the king's request, the continuance of the additional excise for three years. This excise had been granted for nine years in 1668. Every thing seemed to promise a peaceable and an easy session.

But the parliament was roused from this tranquillity by the news received from abroad. The French king had taken the field in the middle of February, and laid siege to Valenciennes, which he carried in a few days by storm. He next invested both Cambray and St. Omers. The prince of Orange, alarmed with his progress, hastily assembled an army, and marched to the relief of St. Omers. He was encountered by the French, under the duke of Orleans and mareschal Luxembourg. The prince possessed great talents for war; courage, activity, vigilance, patience; but still he was inferior in genius to those consummate generals opposed to him by Lewis; and though he always found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against the victors, he was, during his whole life, unsuccessful. By a masterly move-

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ment of Luxembourg, he was here defeated, and obliged to retreat to Ypres. Cambray and St. Omers were ſoon after ſurrendered to Lewis.

This ſucceſs, derived from ſuch great power and ſuch wiſe conduct, infuſed a juſt terror into the Engliſh parliament. They addreſſed the king, repreſenting the danger to which the kingdom was expoſed from the greatneſs of France, and praying that his majeſty, by ſuch alliances as he ſhould think fit, would both ſecure his own dominions and the Spaniſh Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The king, deſirous of eluding this application, which he conſidered as a kind of attack on his meaſures, replied in general terms, that he would uſe all means for the preſervation of Flanders, conſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of his kingdoms. This anſwer was an evaſion, or rather a denial. The commons, therefore, thought proper to be more explicit. They entreated him not to defer the entering into ſuch alliances as might attain that great end: And in caſe war with the French king ſhould be the reſult of his meaſures, they promiſed to grant him all the aids and ſupplies, which would enable him to ſupport the honour and intereſt of the nation. The king was alſo more explicit in his reply. He told them, that the only way to prevent danger, was to put him in a condition to make preparations for their ſecurity. This meſſage was underſtood to be a demand of money. The parliament accordingly empowered the king to borrow on the additional exciſe 200,000 pounds at ſeven per cent.: A very ſmall ſum indeed; but which they deemed ſufficient, with the ordinary revenue, to equip a good ſquadron, and thereby put the nation in ſecurity, till farther reſolutions ſhould be taken.

But this conceſſion fell far ſhort of the king's expectations. He therefore informed them, that, unleſs they granted him the ſum of 600,000 pounds upon new funds, it would not be poſſible for him, without expoſing the nation to manifeſt danger, *to ſpeak or act thoſe things*, which would anſwer the end of their ſeveral addreſſes.

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The houſe took this meſſage into conſideration: But before they came to any reſolution, the king ſent for them to Whitehall, where he told them, upon the word of a king, that they ſhould not repent any truſt which they would repoſe in him for the ſafety of his kingdom; that he would not for any conſideration break credit with them, or employ their money to other uſes than thoſe for which they intended it; but that he would not hazard, either his own ſafety or theirs, by taking any vigorous meaſures, or forming new alliances, till he were in a better condition both to defend his ſubjects and offend his enemies. This ſpeech brought affairs to a ſhort iſſue. The king required them to truſt him with a large ſum: He pawned his royal word for their ſecurity: They muſt either run the riſque of loſing their money, or fail of thoſe alliances which they had projected, and at the ſame time declare to all the world the higheſt diſtruſt of their ſovereign.

But there were many reaſons which determined the houſe of commons to put no truſt in the king. They conſidered, that the pretence of danger was obviouſly groundleſs; while the French were oppoſed by ſuch powerful alliances on the continent, while the king was maſter of a good fleet at ſea, and while all his ſubjects were ſo heartily united in oppoſition to foreign enemies. That the only juſtifiable reaſon, therefore, of Charles's backwardneſs, was not the apprehenſion of danger from abroad, but a diffidence, which he might perhaps have entertained of his parliament; leſt, after engaging him in foreign alliances for carrying on war, they ſhould take advantage of his neceſſities, and extort from him conceſſions dangerous to his royal dignity. That this parliament, by their paſt conduct, had given no foundation for ſuch ſuſpicions, and were ſo far from purſuing any ſiniſter ends, that they had granted ſupplies for the firſt Dutch war; for maintaining the triple league, though concluded without their advice; even for carrying on the ſecond Dutch war, which was entered into contrary to their opinion, and contrary to the manifeſt intereſts of the nation. That, on the other hand, the king had, by former

former meaſures, excited very reaſonable jealouſies in his people, and did with a bad grace require at preſent their truſt and confidence. That he had not ſcrupled to demand ſupplies for maintaining the triple league, at the very moment he was concerting meaſures for breaking it, and had accordingly employed to that purpoſe the ſupplies which he had obtained by thoſe deluſive pretences. That his union with France, during the war againſt Holland, muſt have been founded on projects the moſt dangerous to his people; and as the ſame union was ſtill ſecretly maintained, it might juſtly be feared that the ſame projects were not yet entirely abandoned. That he could not ſeriouſly intend to proſecute vigorous meaſures againſt France, ſince he had ſo long remained entirely unconcerned during ſuch obvious dangers; and, till prompted by his parliament, whoſe proper buſineſs it was not to take the lead in thoſe parts of adminiſtration, had ſuſpended all his activity. That if he really meant to enter into a cordial union with his people, he would have taken the firſt ſtep, and have endeavoured, by putting truſt in them, to reſtore that confidence, which he himſelf, by his raſh conduct, had firſt violated. That it was in vain to aſk ſo ſmall a ſum as 600,000 pounds, in order to ſecure him againſt the future attempts of the parliament; ſince that ſum muſt ſoon be exhauſted by a war with France, and he muſt again fall into that dependance, which was become, in ſome degree, eſſential to the conſtitution. That if he would form the neceſſary alliances, that ſum, or a greater, would inſtantly be voted; nor could there be any reaſon to dread, that the parliament would immediately deſert meaſures, in which they were engaged by their honour, their inclination, and the public intereſt. That the real ground, therefore, of the king's refuſal, was neither apprehenſion of danger from foreign enemies, nor jealouſy of parliamentary encroachments; but a deſire of obtaining the money, which he intended, notwithſtanding his royal word, to employ to other purpoſes. And that, by uſing ſuch diſhonourable means to ſo ignoble an end, he rendered

rendered himſelf ſtill more unworthy the confidence of his people.

The houſe of commons was now regularly divided into two parties, the court and the country. Some were enliſted in the court-party by offices, nay, a few by bribes ſecretly given them; a practice firſt begun by Clifford, a dangerous miniſter: But great numbers were attached merely by inclination; ſo far as they eſteemed the meaſures of the court agreeable to the intereſts of the nation. Private views and faction had likewiſe drawn ſeveral into the country-party: But there were alſo many of that party, who had no other object than the public good. Theſe diſintereſted members on both ſides fluctuated between the factions; and gave the ſuperiority ſometimes to the court, ſometimes to the oppoſition. In the preſent emergence, a general diſtruſt of the king prevailed; and the parliament reſolved not to hazard their money, in expectation of alliances, which they believed were never intended to be formed. Inſtead of granting the ſupply, they voted an addreſs, wherein they "beſought his ma-"jeſty to enter into a league, offenſive and defenſive, "with the States General of the United Provinces, "againſt the growth and power of the French king, "and for the preſervation of the Spaniſh Netherlands; "and to make ſuch other alliances with the confederates "as ſhould appear fit and uſeful to that end." They ſupported their advice with reaſons; and promiſed ſpeedy and effectual ſupplies, for preſerving his majeſty's honour and enſuring the ſafety of the public. The king pretended the higheſt anger at this addreſs, which he repreſented as a dangerous encroachment upon his prerogative. He reproved the commons in ſevere terms; and ordered them immediately to be adjourned *.

It is certain, that this was the critical moment, when the king both might with eaſe have preſerved the balance of power in Europe, which it has ſince coſt this iſland great expenſe of blood and treaſure to reſtore, and

* 8th May.

might

might by perſeverance have at laſt regained, in ſome tolerable meaſure, after all paſt errors, the confidence of his people. This opportunity being neglected, the wound became incurable; and notwithſtanding *his* momentary appearance of vigour againſt France and popery, and *their* momentary inclination to rely on his faith; *he* was ſtill believed to be at bottom engaged in the ſame intereſts, and *they* ſoon relapſed into diſtruſt and jealouſy. The ſecret memoirs of this reign, which have ſince been publiſhed *, prove beyond a doubt, that the king had at this time concerted meaſures with France, and had no intention to enter into a war in favour of the allies. He had entertained no view, therefore, even when he pawned his ROYAL WORD to his people, than to procure a grant of money; and he truſted, that, while he eluded their expectations, he could not afterwards want pretences for palliating his conduct.

Negotiations meanwhile were carried on between France and Holland, and an eventual treaty was concluded; that is, all their differences were adjuſted, provided they could afterwards ſatisfy their allies on both ſides. This work, though in appearance difficult, ſeemed to be extremely forwarded, by farther bad ſucceſſes on the part of the confederates, and by the great impatience of the Hollanders; when a new event happened, which promiſed a more proſperous iſſue to the quarrel with France, and

* Such as the letters, which paſſed betwixt Danby and Montague, the king's ambaſſador at Paris; Temple's Memoirs, and his Letters. In theſe laſt, we ſee that the king never made any propoſals of terms but what were advantageous to France, and the prince of Orange believed them to have always been concerted with the French ambaſſador. Vol. i. p. 439.

In ſir John Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 105. it appears that the king had ſigned himſelf, without the participation of his miniſters, a ſecret treaty with France, and had obtained a penſion on the promiſe of his neutrality: A fact, which renders his *royal word*, ſolemnly given to his ſubjects, one of the moſt diſhonourable and moſt ſcandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne.

revived

revived the hopes of all the Engliſh, who underſtood the intereſts of their country.

The king ſaw, with regret, the violent diſcontents which prevailed in the nation, and which ſeemed every day to augment upon him. Deſirous, by his natural temper, to be eaſy himſelf, and to make every body elſe eaſy, he ſought expedients to appeaſe thoſe murmurs, which, as they were very diſagreeable for the preſent, might in their conſequences prove extremely dangerous. He knew that, during the late war with Holland, the malcontents at home had made applications to the prince of Orange; and if he continued ſtill to neglect the prince's intereſts, and to thwart the inclinations of his own people, he apprehended leſt their common complaints ſhould cement a laſting union between them. He ſaw that the religion of the duke inſpired the nation with diſmal apprehenſions; and though he had obliged his brother to allow the young princeſſes to be educated in the proteſtant faith, ſomething farther, he thought, was neceſſary, in order to ſatisfy the nation. He entertained, therefore, propoſals for marrying the prince of Orange to the lady Mary, the eldeſt princeſs, and heir apparent to the crown (for the duke had no male iſſue), and he hoped, by ſo tempting an offer, to engage him entirely in his intereſts. A peace he purpoſed to make; ſuch as would ſatisfy France, and ſtill preſerve his connexions with that crown: And he intended to ſanctify it by the approbation of the prince, whom he found to be extremely revered in England, and reſpected throughout Europe. All the reaſons for this alliance were ſeconded by the ſolicitations of Danby, and alſo of Temple, who was at that time in England: And Charles at laſt granted permiſſion to the prince, when the campaign ſhould be over, to pay him a viſit.

(10th Oct.) The king very graciouſly received his nephew at Newmarket. He would have entered immediately upon buſineſs; but the prince deſired firſt to be acquainted with the lady Mary: And he declared, that, contrary to the uſual ſentiments of perſons of his rank, he placed a great part of happineſs in domeſtic ſatisfac-

tion, and would not, upon any conſideration of intereſt or politics, match himſelf with a perſon diſagreeable to him. He was introduced to the princeſs, whom he found in the bloom of youth, and extremely amiable both in her perſon and her behaviour. The king now thought that he had a double tie upon him, and might ſafely expect his compliance with every propoſal: He was ſurpriſed to find the prince decline all diſcourſe of buſineſs, and refuſe to concert any terms for the general peace, till his marriage ſhould be finiſhed. He foreſaw, he ſaid, from the ſituation of affairs, that his allies were likely to have hard terms; and he never would expoſe himſelf to the reproach of having ſacrificed their intereſts to promote his own purpoſes. Charles ſtill believed, notwithſtanding the cold, ſevere manner of the prince, that he would abate of this rigid punctilio of honour; and he protracted the time, hoping, by his own inſinuation and addreſs, as well as by the allurements of love and ambition, to win him to compliance. One day, Temple found the prince in very bad humour, repenting that he had ever come to England, and reſolute in a few days to leave it: But before he went, the king, he ſaid, muſt chuſe the terms on which they ſhould hereafter live together: He was ſure it muſt be like the greateſt friends or the greateſt enemies: And he deſired Temple to inform his maſter next morning of theſe intentions. Charles was ſtruck with this menace, and foreſaw how the prince's departure would be interpreted by the people. He reſolved, therefore, immediately to yield with a good grace; and having paid a compliment to his nephew's honeſty, he told Temple, that the marriage was concluded, and deſired him to inform the duke of it, as of an affair already reſolved on. The duke ſeemed ſurpriſed; but yielded a prompt obedience: Which, he ſaid, was his conſtant maxim in whatever he found to be the king's pleaſure. No meaſure, during this reign, gave ſuch general ſatisfaction. All parties ſtrove who ſhould moſt applaud it. And even Arlington, who had been kept out of the ſecret, told the prince, "That ſome "things, good in themſelves, were ſpoiled by the man-

" ner of doing them, as ſome things bad were mended
" by it; but he would confeſs, that this was a thing ſo
" good in itſelf, that the manner of doing it could not
" ſpoil it."

This marriage was a great ſurpriſe to Lewis, who, accuſtomed to govern every thing in the Engliſh court, now found ſo important a ſtep taken, not only without his conſent, but without his knowledge or participation. A conjunction of England with the allies, and a vigorous war in oppoſition to French ambition, were the conſequences immediately expected, both abroad and at home: But to check theſe ſanguine hopes, the king, a few days after the marriage, prolonged the adjournment of the parliament from the third of December to the fourth of April. This term was too late for granting ſupplies, or making preparations for war; and could be choſen by the king for no other reaſon, than as an atonement to France for his conſent to the marriage. It appears alſo, that Charles ſecretly received from Lewis the ſum of two millions of livres on account of this important ſervice.

The king, however, entered into conſultations with the prince, together with Danby and Temple, concerning the terms which it would be proper to require of France. After ſome debate, it was agreed, that France ſhould reſtore Lorraine to the duke; with Tournay, Valenciennes, Condé, Aeth, Charleroi, Courtray, Oudenarde, and Binche, to Spain, in order to form a good frontier for the Low Countries. The prince inſiſted that Franchecomté ſhould likewiſe be reſtored; and Charles thought, that, becauſe he had patrimonial eſtates of great value in that province, and deemed his property more ſecure in the hands of Spain, he was engaged by ſuch views to be obſtinate in that point: But the prince declared, that to procure but one good town to the Spaniards in Flanders, he would willingly relinquiſh all thoſe poſſeſſions. As the king ſtill inſiſted on the impoſſibility of wreſting Franchecomté from Lewis, the prince was obliged to acquieſce.

Notwithſtanding this conceſſion to France, the projected peace was favourable to the allies; and it was a ſufficient

ſufficient indication of vigour in the king, that he had given his aſſent to it. He farther agreed to ſend over a miniſter inſtantly to Paris, in order to propoſe theſe terms. This miniſter was to enter into no treaty: He was to allow but two days for the acceptance or refuſal of the terms: Upon the expiration of theſe, he was preſently to return: And in caſe of refuſal, the king promiſed to enter immediately into the confederacy. To carry ſo imperious a meſſage, and ſo little expected from the Engliſh court, Temple was the perſon pitched on, whoſe declared averſion to the French intereſt was not likely to make him fail of vigour and promptitude in the execution of his commiſſion.

But Charles next day felt a relenting in this aſſumed vigour. Inſtead of Temple he deſpatched the earl of Feverſham, a creature of the duke's, and a Frenchman by birth: And he ſaid, that the meſſage being harſh in itſelf, it was needleſs to aggravate it by a diſagreeable meſſenger. The prince left London; and the king, at his departure, aſſured him that he never would abate in the leaſt point of the ſcheme concerted, and would enter into war with Lewis, if he rejected it.

Lewis received the meſſage with ſeeming gentleneſs and complacency. He told Feverſham, that the king of England well knew that he might always be maſter of the peace; but ſome of the towns in Flanders it ſeemed very hard to demand, eſpecially Tournay, upon whoſe fortifications ſuch immenſe ſums had been expended: He would therefore take ſome ſhort time to conſider of an anſwer. Feverſham ſaid, that he was limited to two days ſtay: But when that time was elapſed, he was prevailed on to remain ſome few days longer; and he came away at laſt without any poſitive anſwer. Lewis ſaid, that he hoped his brother would not break with him for one or two towns: And with regard to them too, he would ſend orders to his ambaſſador at London to treat with the king himſelf. Charles was ſoftened by the ſoftneſs of France; and the blow was thus artfully eluded. The French ambaſſador, Barillon, owned at laſt, that he

had orders to yield all except Tournay, and even to treat about some equivalent for that fortress, if the king absolutely insisted upon it. The prince was gone, who had given spirit to the English court; and the negotiation began to draw out into messages and returns from Paris.

By intervals, however, the king could rouse himself, and shew still some firmness and resolution. Finding that affairs were not likely to come to any conclusion with France, he summoned, notwithstanding the long adjournment, the parliament on the fifteenth of January; an unusual measure, and capable of giving alarm to the French court. Temple was sent for to the council, and the king told him, that he intended he should go to Holland, in order to form a treaty of alliance with the States; and that the purpose of it should be, like the triple league, to force both France and Spain to accept of the terms proposed. Temple was sorry to find this act of vigour qualified by such a regard to France, and by such an appearance of indifference and neutrality between the parties. He told the king, that the resolution agreed on, was to begin the war in conjunction with all the confederates, in case of no direct and immediate answer from France: That this measure would satisfy the prince, the allies, and the people of England; advantages which could not be expected from such an alliance with Holland alone: That France would be disobliged, and Spain likewise; nor would the Dutch be satisfied with such a faint imitation of the triple league, a measure concerted when they were equally at peace with both parties. For these reasons, Temple declined the employment; and Lawrence Hyde, second son of chancellor Clarendon, was sent in his place.

(1678.) The prince of Orange could not regard without contempt such symptoms of weakness and vigour conjoined in the English counsels. He was resolved, however, to make the best of a measure which he did not approve; and as Spain secretly consented that her ally should form a league, which was seemingly directed against her as well as France, but which was to fall only on

on the latter, the States concluded the treaty * in the terms propoſed by the king.

Meanwhile the Engliſh parliament met (28th Jan.), after ſome new adjournments; and the king was aſtoniſhed, that, notwithſtanding the reſolute meaſures which, he thought, he had taken, great diſtruſt and jealouſy and diſcontent were apt, at intervals, ſtill to prevail among the members. Though in his ſpeech he had allowed that a good peace could no longer be expected from negotiation, and aſſured them that he was reſolved to enter into a war for that purpoſe; the commons did not forbear to inſert in their reply ſeveral harſh and even unreaſonable clauſes. Upon his reproving them, they ſeemed penitent, and voted, that they would aſſiſt his majeſty in the proſecution of the war. A fleet of ninety ſail, an army of thirty thouſand men, and a million of money, were alſo voted. Great difficulties were made by the commons with regard to the army, which the houſe, judging by paſt meaſures, believed to be intended more againſt the liberties of England than againſt the progreſs of the French monarch. To this perilous ſituation had the king reduced both himſelf and the nation. In all debates, ſevere ſpeeches were made, and were received with ſeeming approbation. The duke and the treaſurer began to be apprehenſive of impeachments: Many motions againſt the king's miniſters were loſt by a ſmall majority: The commons appointed a day to conſider the ſtate of the kingdom with regard to popery: And they even went ſo far as to vote, that, how urgent ſoever the occaſion, they would lay no farther charge on the people, till ſecured againſt the prevalence of the catholic party. In ſhort, the parliament was impatient for war whenever the king ſeemed averſe to it; but grew ſuſpicious of ſome ſiniſter deſign as ſoon as he complied with their requeſts, and ſeemed to enter into their meaſures.

The king was enraged at this laſt vote: He reproached Temple with his popular notions, as he termed them; and aſked him how he thought the houſe of commons

* 6th January.

could be truſted for carrying on the war, ſhould it be entered on, when in the very commencement they made ſuch declarations? The uncertainties indeed of Charles's conduct were ſo multiplied, and the jealouſies on both ſides ſo incurable, that even thoſe who approached neareſt the ſcene of action could not determine, whether the king ever ſeriouſly meant to enter into a war, or whether, if he did, the houſe of commons would not have taken advantage of his neceſſities, and made him purchaſe ſupplies by a great ſacrifice of his authority.

The king of France knew how to avail himſelf of all the advantages which theſe diſtractions afforded him. By his emiſſaries, he repreſented to the Dutch, the imprudence of their depending on England; where an indolent king, averſe to all war, eſpecially with France, and irreſolute in his meaſures, was actuated only by the uncertain breath of a factious parliament. To the ariſtocratical party, he remarked the danger of the prince's alliance with the royal family of England, and revived their apprehenſions; leſt, in imitation of his father, who had been honoured with the ſame alliance, he ſhould violently attempt to enlarge his authority, and enſlave his native country. In order to enforce theſe motives with farther terrors, he himſelf took the field very early in the ſpring; and after threatening Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, he ſuddenly ſat down before Ghent and Ypres, and in a few weeks made himſelf maſter of both places. This ſucceſs gave great alarm to the Hollanders, who were now ſo ſatisfied with the conduct of England, or with the ambiguous treaty lately concluded; and it quickened all their advances towards an accommodation.

Immediately after the parliament had voted the ſupply, the king began to enliſt forces; and ſuch was the ardour of the Engliſh for a war with France, that an army of above 20,000 men, to the aſtoniſhment of Europe, was completed in a few weeks. Three thouſand men, under the duke of Monmouth, were ſent over to ſecure Oſtend: Some regiments were recalled from the French ſervice: A fleet was fitted out with great diligence:

And

And a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the emperor.

But these vigorous measures received a sudden damp from a passionate address of the lower house; in which they justified all their past proceedings that had given disgust to the king; desired to be acquainted with the measures taken by him; prayed him to dismiss evil counsellors; and named in particular the duke of Lauderdale, on whose removal they strenuously insisted. The king told them, that their address was so extravagant, that he was not willing speedily to give it the answer which it deserved. And he began again to lend an ear to the proposals of Lewis, who offered him great sums of money, if he would consent to France's making an advantageous peace with the allies.

Temple, though pressed by the king, refused to have any concern in so dishonourable a negotiation: But he informs us, that the king said, there was one article proposed, which so incensed him, that, as long as he lived, he should never forget it. Sir William goes no farther; but the editor of his works, the famous Dr. Swift, says, that the French, before they would agree to any payment, required as a preliminary, that the king should engage never to keep above 8000 regular troops in Great Britain *. Charles broke into a passion. "Cod's-"fish," said he, his usual oath, "does my brother of "France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises "to make me absolute master of my people come to "this? Or does he think *that* a thing to be done with "eight thousand men?"

Van Beverning was the Dutch ambassador at Nimeguen, a man of great authority with the States. He was eager for peace, and was persuaded, that the reluctance of the king, and the jealousies of the parliament, would for ever disappoint the allies in their hopes of succour from England. Orders were sent him by the States to go to the French king at Ghent, and to concert the terms of a

* To wit, 3000 men for Scotland, and the usual guards and garrisons in England, amounting to near 5000 men.

general

general treaty, as well as procure a preſent truce for ſix weeks. The terms agreed on were much worſe for the Spaniards, than thoſe which had been planned by the king and the prince of Orange. Six towns, ſome of them of no great importance, were to be reſtored to them: But Ypres, Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournay, in which conſiſted the chief ſtrength of their frontier, were to remain with France.

Great murmurs aroſe in England when it was known that Flanders was to be left in ſo defenceleſs a condition. The chief complaints were levelled againſt the king, who, by his concurrence at firſt, by his favour afterwards, and by his delays at laſt, had raiſed the power of France to ſuch an enormous height, that it threatened the general liberties of Europe. Charles, uneaſy under theſe imputations, dreading the conſequence of loſing the affections of his ſubjects, and perhaps diſguſted with the ſecret article propoſed by France, began to wiſh heartily for war, which, he hoped, would have reſtored him to his ancient popularity.

An opportunity unexpectedly offered itſelf for his diſplaying theſe new diſpoſitions. While the miniſters at Nimeguen were concerting the terms of a general treaty, the marquis de Balbaces, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, aſked the ambaſſadors of France, at what time France intended to reſtore the ſix towns in Flanders. They made no difficulty in declaring that the king, their maſter, being obliged to ſee an entire reſtitution made to the Swedes of all they had loſt in the war, could not evacuate theſe towns till that crown had received ſatisfaction; and that this detention of places was the only means to induce the powers of the north to accept of the peace.

The States immediately gave the king intelligence of a pretenſion, which might be attended with ſuch dangerous conſequences. The king was both ſurpriſed and angry. He immediately diſpatched Temple to concert with the States vigorous meaſures for oppoſing France. Temple in ſix days concluded a treaty (16th July), by which Lewis was obliged to declare, within ſixteen days after the date, that he would preſently evacuate the towns:

towns: And in case of his refusal, Holland was bound to continue the war, and England to declare immediately against France, in conjunction with the whole confederacy.

All these warlike measures were so ill seconded by the parliament, where even the French ministers were suspected, with reason *, of carrying on some intrigues, that the commons renewed their former jealousies against the king, and voted the army immediately to be disbanded. The king by a message represented the danger of disarming before peace were finally concluded; and he recommended to their consideration, whether he could honourably recal his forces from those towns in Flanders, which were put under his protection, and which had at present no other means of defence. The commons agreed to prolong the term with regard to these forces. Every thing indeed in Europe bore the appearance of war. France had positively declared, that she would not evacuate the six towns before the requisite cession was made to Sweden; and her honour seemed now engaged to support that declaration. Spain and the empire, disgusted with the terms of peace imposed by Holland, saw with pleasure the prospect of a powerful support from the new resolutions of Charles. Holland itself, encouraged by the prince of Orange and his party, was not displeased to find that the war would be renewed on more equal terms. The allied army under that prince was approaching towards Mons, then blockaded by France. A considerable body of English, under the duke of Monmouth, was ready to join him.

Charles usually passed a great part of his time in the women's apartments, particularly those of the dutchess of Portsmouth; where, among other gay company, he often met with Barillon, the French ambassador, a man of polite conversation, who was admitted into all the amusements of that inglorious but agreeable monarch. It was the charms of this sauntering easy life, which, during his later years, attached Charles to his mistresses.

* See note [L] at the end of the volume.

By

By the insinuations of Barillon, and the dutchess of Portsmouth, an order was, in an unguarded hour, procured, which instantly changed the face of affairs in Europe. One Du Cros, a French fugitive monk, was sent to Temple, directing him to apply to the Swedish ambassador, and persuade him not to insist on the conditions required by France, but to sacrifice to general peace those interests of Sweden. Du Cros, who had secretly received instructions from Barillon, published every-where in Holland the commission with which he was entrusted; and all men took the alarm. It was concluded, that Charles's sudden alacrity for war was as suddenly extinguished, and that no steady measures could ever be taken with England. The king afterwards, when he saw Temple, treated this important matter in raillery; and said, laughing, that the rogue Du Cros had outwitted them all.

The negotiations, however, at Nimeguen still continued; and the French ambassadors spun out the time, till the morning of the critical day, which, by the late treaty between England and Holland, was to determine whether a sudden peace or a long war were to have place in Christendom. The French ambassadors came then to Van Beverning, and told him, that they had received orders to consent to the evacuation of the towns, and immediately to conclude and sign the peace. Van Beverning might have refused compliance, because it was now impossible to procure the consent and concurrence of Spain; but he had entertained so just an idea of the fluctuations in the English counsels, and was so much alarmed by the late commission given to Du Cros, that he deemed it fortunate for the republic to finish on any terms a dangerous war, where they were likely to be very ill supported. (August 1.) The papers were instantly drawn, and signed by the ministers of France and Holland, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night. By this treaty France secured the possession of Franchecomté, together with Cambray, Aire, St. Omer's, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Boucnaine, Cassel, &c. and restored

to

to Spain only Charleroi, Courtray, Oudenard, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg.

Next day Temple received an expreſs from England, which brought the ratifications of the treaty lately concluded with the States, together with orders immediately to proceed to the exchange of them. Charles was now returned to his former inclinations for war with France.

Van Beverning was loudly exclaimed againſt by the ambaſſadors of the allies at Nimeguen, eſpecially thoſe of Brandenburgh and Denmark, whoſe maſters were obliged, by the treaty, to reſtore all their acquiſitions. The miniſters of Spain and the emperor were ſullen and diſguſted; and all men hoped that the States, importuned and encouraged by continual ſolicitations from England, would diſavow their ambaſſador, and renew the war. The prince of Orange even took an extraordinary ſtep, in order to engage them to that meaſure; or perhaps to give vent to his own ſpleen and reſentment. The day after ſigning the peace at Nimeguen, he attacked the French army at St. Dennis near Mons; and gained ſome advantage over Luxembourg, who reſted ſecure on the faith of the treaty, and concluded the war to be finiſhed. The prince knew, at leaſt had reaſon to believe, that the peace was ſigned, though it had not been formally notified to him; and he here ſacrificed wantonly, without a proper motive, the lives of many brave men on both ſides, who fell in this ſharp and well-conteſted action.

Hyde was ſent over with a view of perſuading the States to diſavow Van Beverning; and the king promiſed that England, if ſhe might depend on Holland, would immediately declare war, and would purſue it, till France were reduced to reaſonable conditions. Charles at preſent went farther than words. He hurried on the embarkation of his army for Flanders; and all his preparations wore a hoſtile appearance. But the States had been too often deceived to truſt him any longer. They ratified the treaty ſigned at Nimeguen; and all the other powers of Europe were at laſt, after much clamour and many diſguſts, obliged to accept of the terms preſcribed to them.

Lewis

Lewis had now reached the height of that glory which ambition can afford. His miniſters and negotiators appeared as much ſuperior to thoſe of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals and armies had been experienced in the field. A ſucceſsful war had been carried on againſt an alliance, compoſed of the greateſt potentates in Europe. Conſiderable conqueſts had been made, and his territories enlarged on every ſide. An advantageous peace was at laſt concluded, where he had given the law. The allies were ſo enraged againſt each other, that they were not likely to cement ſoon in any new confederacy. And thus he had, during ſome years, a real proſpect of attaining the monarchy of Europe, and of exceeding the empire of Charlemagne, perhaps equalling that of ancient Rome. Had England continued much longer in the ſame condition, and under the ſame government, it is not eaſy to conceive that he could have failed of his purpoſe.

In proportion as theſe circumſtances exalted the French, they excited indignation among the Engliſh, whoſe animoſity, rouſed by terror, mounted to a great height againſt that rival nation. Inſtead of taking the lead in the affairs of Europe, Charles, they thought, had, contrary to his own honour and intereſt, acted a part entirely ſubſervient to the common enemy; and in all his meaſures had either no project at all, or ſuch as was highly criminal and dangerous. While Spain, Holland, the emperor, the princes of Germany, called aloud on England to lead them to victory and to liberty, and conſpired to raiſe her to a ſtation more glorious than ſhe had ever before attained; her king, from mean pecuniary motives, had ſecretly ſold his alliance to Lewis, and was bribed into an intereſt contrary to that of his people. His active ſchemes, in conjunction with France, were highly pernicious; his neutrality was equally ignominious; and the jealous refractory behaviour of the parliament, though in itſelf dangerous, was the only remedy for ſo many greater ills, with which the public, from the miſguided counſels of the king, was ſo nearly threatened. Such were the diſpoſitions of men's minds at the conclu-

on

cluſion of the peace of Nimeguen: And theſe diſpoſitions naturally prepared the way for the events which followed.

We muſt now return to the affairs of Scotland, which we left in ſome diſorder, after the ſuppreſſion of the inſurrection in 1666. The king, who at that time endeavoured to render himſelf popular in England, adopted like meaſures in Scotland; and he entruſted the government into the hands chiefly of Tweddale and ſir Robert Murray, men of prudence and moderation. Theſe miniſters made it their principal object to compoſe the religious differences, which ran high, and for which ſcarcely any modern nation but the Dutch, had as yet found the proper remedy. As rigour and reſtraint had failed of ſucceſs in Scotland, a ſcheme of *comprehenſion* was tried; by which it was intended to diminiſh greatly the authority of biſhops, to aboliſh their negative voice in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of precedency among the preſbyters. But the preſbyterian zealots entertained great jealouſy againſt this ſcheme. They remembered that, by ſuch gradual ſteps, king James had endeavoured to introduce epiſcopacy. Should the ears and eyes of men be once reconciled to the name and habit of biſhops, the whole power of the function, they dreaded, would ſoon follow: The leaſt communication with unlawful and antichriſtian inſtitutions they eſteemed dangerous and criminal: *Touch not, taſte not, handle not*; this cry went out amongſt them: And the king's miniſters at laſt perceived that they ſhould proſtitute the dignity of government, by making advances, to which the malcontents were determined not to correſpond.

The next project adopted was that of *indulgence*. In proſecution of this ſcheme, the moſt popular of the expelled preachers, without requiring any terms of ſubmiſſion to the eſtabliſhed religion, were ſettled in vacant churches; and ſmall ſalaries of about twenty pounds a-year were offered to the reſt, till they ſhould otherwiſe be provided for. Theſe laſt refuſed the king's bounty, which they conſidered as the wages of a criminal ſilence.

Even the former ſoon repented their compliance. The people, who had been accuſtomed to hear them rail againſt their ſuperiors, and preach to the times, as they termed it, deemed their ſermons languid and ſpiritleſs, when deprived of theſe ornaments. Their uſual gifts, they thought, had left them, on account of their ſubmiſſion, which was ſtigmatiſed as eraſtianiſm. They gave them the appellation, not of miniſters of Chriſt, but of *the king's curates*; as the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church were commonly denominated *the biſhop's curates*. The preachers themſelves returned in a little time to their former practices, by which they hoped to regain their former dominion over the minds of men. The conventicles multiplied daily in the weſt: The clergy of the eſtabliſhed church were inſulted: The laws were neglected: The covenanters even met daily in arms at their places of worſhip: And though they uſually diſperſed themſelves after divine ſervice, yet the government took a juſt alarm at ſeeing men, who were ſo entirely governed by their ſeditious teachers, dare to ſet authority at defiance, and, during a time of full peace, to put themſelves in a military poſture.

There was here, it is apparent, in the political body, a diſeaſe dangerous and inveterate; and the government had tried every remedy, but the true one, to allay and correct it. An unlimited *toleration*, after ſects have diffuſed themſelves, and are ſtrongly rooted, is the only expedient which can allay their fervour, and make the civil union acquire a ſuperiority above religious diſtinctions. But as the operations of this regimen are commonly gradual, and at firſt imperceptible, vulgar politicians are apt, for that reaſon, to have recourſe to more haſty and more dangerous remedies. It is obſervable too, that theſe nonconformiſts in Scotland neither offered nor demanded toleration; but laid claim to an entire ſuperiority, and to the exerciſe of extreme rigour againſt their adverſaries. The covenant, which they idolized, was a perſecuting, as well as a ſeditious band of confederacy; and the government, inſtead of treating them like madmen, who ſhould be ſoothed, and flattered, and

deceived into tranquillity, thought themſelves entitled to a rigid obedience, and were too apt, from a miſtaken policy, to retaliate upon the diſſenters, who had erred from the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm.

Amidſt theſe diſturbances, a new parliament was aſſembled at Edinburgh*; and Lauderdale was ſent down commiſſioner. The zealous preſbyterians, who were the chief patrons of liberty, were too obnoxious to reſiſt, with any ſucceſs, the meaſures of government; and in parliament the tide ſtill ran ſtrongly in favour of monarchy. The commiſſioner had ſuch influence as to get two acts paſſed, which were of great conſequence to the eccleſiaſtical and civil liberties of the kingdom. By the one, it was declared, that the ſettling of all things with regard to the external government of the church was a right of the crown: That whatever related to eccleſiaſtical meetings, matters, and perſons, was to be ordered according to ſuch directions as the king ſhould ſend to his privy-council: And that theſe, being publiſhed by them, ſhould have the force of laws. The other act regarded the militia, which the king, by his own authority, had two years before eſtabliſhed, inſtead of the army, which was diſbanded. By this act the militia was ſettled, to the number of 22,000 men, who were to be conſtantly armed and regularly diſciplined. And it was farther enacted, that theſe troops ſhould be held in readineſs to march into England, Ireland, or any part of the king's dominions, for any cauſe in which his majeſty's authority, power, or greatneſs, was concerned; on receiving orders, not from the king himſelf, but from the privy-council of Scotland.

Lauderdale boaſted extremely of his ſervices in procuring theſe two laws. The king by the former was rendered abſolute maſter of the church, and might legally, by his edict, re-eſtabliſh, if he thought proper, the catholic religion in Scotland. By the latter, he ſaw a powerful force ready at his call: He had even the advantage of being able to diſguiſe his orders under the

* 19th October 1669.

name of the privy-council; and in case of failure in his enterprises, could, by such a pretence, apologize for his conduct to the parliament of England. But in proportion as these laws were agreeable to the king, they gave alarm to the English commons, and were the chief cause of the redoubled attacks which they made upon Lauderdale. These attacks, however, served only to fortify him in his interest with the king; and though it is probable that the militia of Scotland, during the divided state of that kingdom, would, if matters had come to extremities, have been of little service against England; yet did Charles regard the credit of it as a considerable support to his authority: And Lauderdale, by degrees, became the prime, or rather sole, minister for Scotland. The natural indolence of the king disposed him to place entire confidence in a man who had so far extended the royal prerogative, and who was still disposed to render it absolutely uncontrollable.

In a subsequent session of the same parliament*, a severe law was enacted against conventicles. Ruinous fines were imposed both on the preachers and hearers, even if the meetings had been in houses; but field conventicles were subjected to the penalty of death, and confiscation of goods: Four hundred marks Scotch were offered as a reward to those who should seize the criminals; and they were indemnified for any slaughter which they might commit in the execution of such an undertaking. And as it was found difficult to get evidence against these conventicles, however numerous, it was enacted by another law, that whoever, being required by the council, refused to give information upon oath, should be punished by arbitrary fines, by imprisonment, or by banishment to the plantations. Thus all persecution naturally, or rather necessarily, adopts the iniquities, as well as rigours, of the inquisition. What a considerable part of the society consider as their duty and honour, and even many of the opposite party are apt to regard with compassion and indulgence, can by no other

* 28th July 1670.

expe-

expedient be ſubjected to ſuch ſevere penalties as the natural ſentiments of mankind appropriate only to the greateſt crimes.

Though Lauderdale found this ready compliance in the parliament, a party was formed againſt him, of which duke Hamilton was the head. This nobleman, with Tweddale and others, went to London, and applied to the king, who, during the preſent depreſſion and inſignificance of parliament, was alone able to correct the abuſes of Lauderdale's adminiſtration. But even their complaints to him might be dangerous; and all approaches of truth to the throne were barred by the ridiculous law againſt leaſing-making; a law which ſeems to have been extorted by the ancient nobles, in order to protect their own tyranny, oppreſſion, and injuſtice. Great precautions, therefore, were uſed by the Scottiſh malcontents in their repreſentations to the king; but no redreſs was obtained. Charles loaded them with careſſes, and continued Lauderdale in his authority.

A very bad, at leaſt a ſevere uſe was made of this authority. The privy-council diſpoſſeſſed twelve gentlemen or noblemen of their houſes *; which were converted into ſo many garriſons, eſtabliſhed for the ſuppreſſion of conventicles. The nation, it was pretended, was really, on account of theſe religious aſſemblies, in a ſtate of war; and by the ancient law, the king, in ſuch an emergence, was empowered to place a garriſon in any houſe where he ſhould judge it expedient.

It were endleſs to recount every act of violence and arbitrary authority exerciſed during Lauderdale's adminiſtration. All the lawyers were put from the bar, nay baniſhed, by the king's order, twelve miles from the capital, and by that means the whole juſtice of the kingdom was ſuſpended for a year; till theſe lawyers were brought to declare it as their opinion, that all appeals to parliament were illegal. A letter was procured from the king, for expelling twelve of the chief magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and declaring them incapable of all public office;

* In 1675.

though their only crime had been their want of compliance with Lauderdale. The boroughs of Scotland have a privilege of meeting once a-year by their deputies, in order to conſider the ſtate of trade, and make bye-laws for its regulation: In this convention a petition was voted, complaining of ſome late acts, which obſtructed commerce, and praying the king that he would empower his commiſſioner, in the next ſeſſion of parliament, to give his aſſent for repealing them. For this preſumption, as it was called, ſeveral of the members were fined and impriſoned. One More, a member of parliament, having moved in the houſe, that, in imitation of the Engliſh parliament, no bill ſhould paſs except after three readings, he was, for this pretended offence, immediately ſent to priſon by the commiſſioner.

The private deportment of Lauderdale was as inſolent and provoking, as his public adminiſtration was violent and tyrannical. Juſtice likewiſe was univerſally perverted by faction and intereſt: And from the great rapacity of that duke, and ſtill more of his dutcheſs, all offices and favours were openly put to ſale. No one was allowed to approach the throne who was not dependant on him; and no remedy could be hoped for or obtained againſt his manifold oppreſſions. The caſe of Mitchel ſhows that this miniſter was as much deſtitute of truth and honour, as of lenity and juſtice.

Mitchel was a deſperate fanatic, and had entertained a reſolution of aſſaſſinating Sharpe, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who, by his former apoſtaſy and ſubſequent rigour, had rendered himſelf extremely odious to the covenanters. In the year 1668, Mitchel fired a piſtol at the primate, as he was ſitting in his coach; but the biſhop of Orkney, ſtepping into the coach, happened to ſtretch out his arm, which intercepted the ball, and was much ſhattered by it. This happened in the principal ſtreet of the city; but ſo generally was the archbiſhop hated, that the aſſaſſin was allowed peaceably to walk off; and having turned a ſtreet or two, and thrown off a wig, which diſguiſed him, he immediately appeared in public, and remained altogether unſuſpected. Some years after,

Sharpe

Sharpe remarked one, who ſeemed to eye him very eagerly; and being ſtill anxious leſt an attempt of aſſaſſination ſhould be renewed, he ordered the man to be ſeized and examined. Two loaded piſtols were found upon him; and as he was now concluded to be the author of the former attempt, Sharpe promiſed, that, if he would confeſs his guilt, he ſhould be diſmiſſed without any puniſhment. Mitchel (for the conjecture was juſt) was ſo credulous as to believe him; but was immediately produced before the council by the faithleſs primate. The council, having no proof againſt him, but hoping to involve the whole body of covenanters in this odious crime, ſolemnly renewed the promiſe of pardon, if he would make a full diſcovery; and it was a great diſappointment to them, when they found, upon his confeſſion, that only one perſon, who was now dead, had been acquainted with his bloody purpoſe. Mitchel was then carried before a court of judicature, and required to renew his confeſſion; but being apprehenſive leſt, though a pardon for life had been promiſed him, other corporal puniſhment might ſtill be inflicted, he refuſed compliance, and was ſent back to priſon. He was next examined before the council, under pretence of his being concerned in the inſurrection at Pentland; and though no proof appeared againſt him, he was put to the queſtion, and, contrary to the moſt obvious principles of equity, was urged to accuſe himſelf. He endured the torture with ſingular reſolution, and continued obſtinate in the denial of a crime, of which, it is believed, he really was not guilty. Inſtead of obtaining his liberty, he was ſent to the Baſs, a very high rock, ſurrounded by the ſea; at this time converted into a ſtate priſon, and full of the unhappy covenanters. He there remained in great miſery, loaded with irons, till the year 1677, when it was reſolved by ſome new examples to ſtrike a freſh terror into the perſecuted, but ſtill obſtinate enthuſiaſts. Mitchel was then brought before a court of judicature, and put upon his trial, for an attempt to aſſaſſinate an archbiſhop and a privy-counſellor. His former confeſſion was pleaded againſt him, and was proved by the teſtimony of the

duke of Lauderdale, lord commiſſioner, lord Hatton his brother, the earl of Rothes, and the primate himſelf. Mitchel, beſides maintaining that the privy-council was no court of judicature, and that a confeſſion before them was not judicial, aſſerted, that he had been engaged to make that confeſſion by a ſolemn promiſe of pardon. The four privy-counſellors denied upon oath that any ſuch promiſe had ever been given. The priſoner then deſired that the council-books might be produced in court; and even offered a copy of that day's proceedings to be read; but the privy-counſellors maintained, that, after they had made oath, no farther proof could be admitted; and that the books of council contained the king's ſecrets, which were on no account to be divulged. They were not probably aware, when they ſwore, that the clerk, having engroſſed the promiſe of pardon in the narrative of Mitchel's confeſſion, the whole minute had been ſigned by the chancellor, and that the proofs of their perjury were by that means committed to record. Though the priſoner was condemned, Lauderdale was ſtill inclined to pardon him; but the unrelenting primate rigorouſly inſiſted upon his execution; and ſaid, that if aſſaſſins remained unpuniſhed, his life muſt be expoſed to perpetual danger. Mitchel was accordingly executed at Edinburgh in January 1678. Such a complication of cruelty and treachery ſhows the character of thoſe miniſters to whom the king had, at this time, entruſted the government of Scotland.

Lauderdale's adminiſtration, beſides the iniquities ariſing from the violence of his temper, and the ſtill greater iniquities inſeparable from all projects of perſecution, was attended with other circumſtances, which engaged him in ſevere and arbitrary meaſures. An abſolute government was to be introduced, which on its commencement is often moſt rigorous; and tyranny was ſtill obliged, for want of military power, to cover itſelf under an appearance of law; a ſituation which rendered it extremely awkward in its motions, and, by provoking oppoſition, extended the violence of its oppreſſions.

The

The rigours exerciſed againſt conventicles, inſtead of breaking the ſpirit of the fanatics, had tended only, as is uſual, to render them more obſtinate, to increaſe the fervour of their zeal, to link them more cloſely together, and to inflame them againſt the eſtabliſhed hierarchy. The commonalty, almoſt every-where in the ſouth, particularly in the weſtern counties, frequented conventicles without reſerve; and the gentry, though they themſelves commonly abſtained from theſe illegal places of worſhip, connived at this irregularity in their inferiors. In order to intereſt the former on the ſide of the perſecutors, a bond or contract was, by order of the privy-council, tendered to the landlords in the weſt, by which they were to engage for the good behaviour of their tenants; and in caſe any tenant frequented a conventicle, the landlord was to ſubject himſelf to the ſame fine as could by law be exacted from the delinquent. It was ridiculous to give ſanction to laws by voluntary contracts: It was iniquitous to make one man anſwerable for the conduct of another: It was illegal to impoſe ſuch hard conditions upon men, who had nowiſe offended. For theſe reaſons, the greater part of the gentry refuſed to ſign theſe bonds; and Lauderdale, enraged at this oppoſition, endeavoured to break their ſpirit by expedients which were ſtill more unuſual and more arbitrary.

The law enacted againſt conventicles, had called them ſeminaries of rebellion. This expreſſion, which was nothing but a flouriſh of rhetoric, Lauderdale and the privy-council were willing to underſtand in a literal ſenſe; and becauſe the weſtern counties abounded in conventicles, though otherwiſe in profound peace, they pretended that theſe counties were in a ſtate of actual war and rebellion. They made therefore an agreement with ſome highland chieftains to call out their clans, to the number of 8000 men: To theſe they joined the guards, and the militia of Angus: And they ſent the whole to live at free quarters upon the lands of ſuch as had refuſed the bonds illegally required of them. The obnoxious counties were the moſt populous and moſt induſ-

induſtrious in Scotland. The highlanders were the people the moſt diſorderly and the leaſt civilized. It is eaſy to imagine the havoc and deſtruction which enſued. A multitude, not accuſtomed to diſcipline, averſe to the reſtraint of laws, trained up in rapine and violence, were let looſe amidſt thoſe whom they were taught to regard as enemies to their prince and to their religion. Nothing eſcaped their ravenous hands: By menaces, by violence, and ſometimes by tortures, men were obliged to diſcover their concealed wealth. Neither age, nor ſex, nor innocence, afforded protection: And the gentry, finding that even thoſe who had been moſt compliant, and who had ſubſcribed the bonds, were equally expoſed to the rapacity of thoſe barbarians, confirmed themſelves ſtill more in the reſolution of refuſing them. The voice of the nation was raiſed againſt this enormous outrage; and after two months free quarter, the highlanders were ſent back to their hills, loaded with the ſpoils and execrations of the weſt.

Thoſe who had been engaged to ſubſcribe the bonds, could find no ſecurity but by turning out ſuch tenants as they ſuſpected of an inclination to conventicles, and thereby depopulating their eſtates. To increaſe the miſery of theſe unhappy farmers, the council enacted, that none ſhould be received any-where, or allowed a habitation, who brought not a certificate of his conformity from the pariſh-miniſter. That the obſtinate and refractory might not eſcape farther perſecution, a new device was fallen upon. By the law of Scotland, any man, who ſhould go before a magiſtrate, and ſwear that he thought himſelf in danger from another, might obtain a writ of *law-burrows*, as it is called; by which the latter was bound, under the penalty of impriſonment and outlawry, to find ſecurity for his good behaviour. Lauderdale entertained the abſurd notion of making the king ſue out writs of law-burrows againſt his ſubjects. On this pretence, the refuſers of the bonds were ſummoned to appear before the council, and were required to bind themſelves, under the penalty of two years' rent, neither to frequent conventicles themſelves, nor allow their

their family and tenants to be present at those unlawful assemblies. This chicanery was joined to tyranny; and the majesty of the king, instead of being exalted, was in reality prostituted; as if he were obliged to seek the same security, which one neighbour might require of another.

It was an old law, but seldom executed, that a man, who was accused of any crime, and did not appear, in order to stand his trial, might be *intercommuned*, that is, he might be publicly outlawed; and whoever afterwards, either on account of business, relation, nay charity, had the least intercourse with him, was subjected to the same penalties as could by law be inflicted on the criminal himself. Several writs of intercommuning were now issued against the hearers and preachers in conventicles; and by this severe and even absurd law, crimes and guilt went on multiplying in a geometrical proportion. Where laws themselves are so violent, it is no wonder that an administration should be tyrannical.

Lest the cry of an oppressed people should reach the throne, the council forbad, under severe penalties, all noblemen or gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom: A severe edict, especially where the sovereign himself resided in a foreign country. Notwithstanding this act of council, Cassils first, afterwards Hamilton and Tweddale, went to London, and laid their complaints before the king. These violent proceedings of Lauderdale were opposite to the natural temper of Charles; and he immediately issued orders for discontinuing the bonds and the writs of law-burrows. But as he was commonly little touched with what lay at a distance, he entertained not the proper indignation against those who had abused his authority: Even while he retracted these oppressive measures, he was prevailed with to avow and praise them, in a letter which he wrote to the privy-council. This proof of confidence might fortify the hands of the ministry; but the king ran a manifest risque of losing the affections of his subjects, by not permitting, even those who were desirous of it, to distinguish between him and their oppressors.

It

It is reported, that Charles, after a full hearing of the debates concerning Scottiſh affairs, ſaid, "I perceive, that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad "things againſt the people of Scotland; but I cannot "find that he has acted any thing contrary to my in-"tereſt:" A ſentiment unworthy of a ſovereign!

During the abſence of Hamilton and the other diſcontented lords, the king allowed Lauderdale to ſummon a convention of eſtates at Edinburgh. This aſſembly, beſides granting ſome money, beſtowed applauſe on all Lauderdale's adminiſtration, and in their addreſſes to the king expreſſed the higheſt contentment and ſatisfaction. But theſe inſtances of complaiſance had the contrary effect in England from what was expected by the contrivers of them. All men there concluded, that in Scotland the very voice of liberty was totally ſuppreſſed; and that, by the prevalence of tyranny, grievances were ſo riveted, that it was become dangerous even to mention them, or complain to the prince, who alone was able to redreſs them. From the ſlavery of the neighbouring kingdom, they inferred the arbitrary diſpoſition of the king; and from the violence with which ſovereign power was there exerciſed, they apprehended the miſeries which might enſue to themſelves upon their loſs of liberty. If perſecution, it was aſked, by a proteſtant church could be carried to ſuch extremes, what might be dreaded from the prevalence of popery, which had ever, in all ages, made open profeſſion of exterminating by fire and ſword every oppoſite ſect or communion? And if the firſt approaches towards unlimited authority were ſo tyrannical, how diſmal its final eſtabliſhment; when all dread of oppoſition ſhould at laſt be removed by mercenary armies, and all ſenſe of ſhame by long and inveterate habit?

NOTES

TO THE

NINTH VOLUME.

NOTE [A], p. 13.

THE following inſtance of extravagance is given by Walker, in his Hiſtory of Independency, Part II. p. 152. About this time, there came ſix ſoldiers into the pariſh church of Walton upon Thames, near twilight: Mr. Faucet, the preacher there, not having till then ended his ſermon. One of the ſoldiers had a lanthorn in his hand, and a candle burning in it, and in the other hand four candles not lighted. He deſired the pariſhioners to ſtay a while, ſaying he had a meſſage from God unto them, and thereupon offered to go into the pulpit. But the people refuſing to give him leave ſo to do, or to ſtay in the church, he went into the church-yard, and there told them that he had a viſion, wherein he had received a command from God to deliver his will unto them, which he was to deliver, and they to receive upon pain of damnation; conſiſting of five lights. (1) "That the ſabbath was aboliſhed as unneceſſary, Jewiſh, and merely ceremonial. And here (quoth he) I ſhould put out the firſt light, but the wind is ſo high I cannot kindle it. (2) That tithes are aboliſhed as Jewiſh and ceremonial, a great burden to the ſaints of God, and a diſcouragement of induſtry and tillage. And here I ſhould put out my ſecond light, &c. (3) That miniſters are aboliſhed as antichriſtian, and of no longer uſe, now Chriſt himſelf deſcends into the hearts of his ſaints, and his ſpirit enlighteneth them with revelations and inſpirations. And here I ſhould put out my third light, &c. (4) Magiſtrates are aboliſhed as uſeleſs, now that Chriſt himſelf

" himſelf is in purity amongſt us, and hath erected the " kingdom of the ſaints upon earth. Beſides, they are " tyrants and oppreſſors of the liberty of the ſaints, and " tie them to laws and ordinances, mere human in- " ventions. And here I ſhould put out my fourth " light, &c. (5) Then putting his hand into his " pocket, and pulling out a little bible, he ſhowed it " open to the people, ſaying, Here is a book you have " in great veneration, conſiſting of two parts, the old " and new teſtament: I muſt tell you it is aboliſhed; " it containeth beggarly rudiments, milk for babes: " But now Chriſt is in glory amongſt us, and imparts " a farther meaſure of his ſpirit to his ſaints than this " can afford. I am commanded to burn it before your " face. Then putting out the candle, he ſaid, And here " my fifth light is extinguiſhed." It became a pretty common doctrine at that time, that it was unworthy of a chriſtian man to pay rent to his fellow-creatures; and landlords were obliged to uſe all the penalties of law againſt their tenants, whoſe conſcience was ſcrupulous.

NOTE [B], p. 48.

WHEN the earl of Derby was alive, he had been ſummoned by Ireton to ſurrender the iſle of Man; and he returned this ſpirited and memorable anſwer: " I " received your letter with indignation, and with ſcorn " return you this anſwer; that I cannot but wonder " whence you ſhould gather any hopes, that I ſhould " prove like you, treacherous to my ſovereign; ſince " you cannot be ignorant of my former actions in his " late majeſty's ſervice, from which principles of loy- " alty I am no whit departed. I ſcorn your proffers; " I diſdain your favour; I abhor your treaſon; and " am ſo far from delivering up this iſland to your ad- " vantage, that I ſhall keep it to the utmoſt of my " power to your deſtruction. Take this for your final " anſwer, and forbear any farther ſolicitations; for if " you trouble me with any more meſſages of this nature, " I will burn the paper and hang up the bearer. This

" is

" is the immutable reſolution, and ſhall be the un-
" doubted practice of him, who accounts it his chiefeſt
" glory to be his majeſty's moſt loyal and obedient
" ſubject, DERBY."

NOTE [C], p. 50.

IT had been a uſual policy of the preſbyterian eccleſiaſtics to ſettle a chaplain in the great families, who acted as a ſpy upon his maſter, and gave them intelligence of the moſt private tranſactions and diſcourſes of the family. A ſignal inſtance of prieſtly tyranny, and the ſubjection of the nobility! They even obliged the ſervants to give intelligence againſt their maſters. Whitlocke, p. 502. The ſame author, p. 512. tells the following ſtory. The ſynod meeting at Perth, and citing the miniſters and people, who had expreſſed a diſlike of *their heavenly government*, the men being out of the way, their wives reſolved to anſwer for them. And, on the day of appearance, 120 women, with good clubs in their hands, came and beſieged the church, where the reverend miniſters ſat. They ſent one of their number to treat with the females, and he threatening excommunication, they baſted him for his labour, kept him priſoner, and ſent a party of 60, who routed the reſt of the clergy, bruiſed their bodies ſorely, took all their baggage and 12 horſes. One of the miniſters, after a mile's running, taking all creatures for his foes, meeting with a ſoldier, fell on his knees, who knowing nothing of the matter, aſked the blackcoat what he meant? The female conquerors, having laid hold on the ſynod clerk, beat him till he forſwore his office. Thirteen miniſters rallied about four miles from the place, and voted that this village ſhould never more have a ſynod in it, but be accurſed; and that though in the years 1638 and 39, the godly women were cried up for ſtoning the biſhops, yet now the whole ſex ſhould be eſteemed wicked.

NOTE [D], p. 99.

ABOUT this time an accident had almoſt robbed the protector of his life, and ſaved his enemies the trouble of all their machinations. Having got ſix fine Frieſland coach-horſes as a preſent from the count of Oldenburgh, he undertook for his amuſement to drive them about Hyde-park; his ſecretary, Thurloe, being in the coach. The horſes were ſtartled and ran away: He was unable to command them or keep the box. He fell upon the pole, was dragged upon the ground for ſome time; a piſtol, which he carried in his pocket, went off; and by that ſingular good fortune, which ever attended him, he was taken up without any conſiderable hurt or bruiſe.

NOTE [E], p. 107.

WE ſhall produce any paſſage at random: For his diſcourſe is all of a piece. "I confeſs, for it behoves "me to deal plainly with you, I muſt confeſs, I would "ſay, I hope, I may be underſtood in this, for indeed I "muſt be tender what I ſay to ſuch a audience as this; "I ſay, I would be underſtood, that in this argument I "do not make parallel betwixt men of a different mind, "and a parliament, which ſhall have their deſires. I "know there is no compariſon, nor can it be urged upon "me, that my words have the leaſt colour that way, "becauſe the parliament ſeems to give liberty to me to "ſay any thing to you; as that, that is a tender of my "humble reaſons and judgment and opinion to them; "and if I think they are ſuch, and will be ſuch to them, "and are faithful ſervants, and will be ſo to the ſupreme "authority, and the legiſlative whereſoever it is: If, I "ſay, I ſhould not tell you, knowing their minds to be "ſo, I ſhould not be faithful, if I ſhould not tell you ſo, "to the end you may report it to the parliament. I ſhall "ſay ſomething for myſelf, for my own mind, I do pro-"feſs it, I am not a man ſcrupulous about words or "names of ſuch things I have not: But as I have the "word of God, and I hope I ſhall ever have it, for the

"rule

" rule of my conſcience, for my informations; ſo truly " men that have been led in dark paths, through the pro- " vidence and diſpenſation of God; why ſurely it is not " to be objected to a man; for who can love to walk in " the dark? But providence does ſo diſpoſe. And " though a man may impute his own folly and blind- " neſs to providence ſinfully, yet it muſt be at my peril; " the caſe may be that it is the providence of God that " doth lead men in darkneſs; I muſt need ſay, that I " have had a great deal of experience of providence, and " though it is no rule without or againſt the word, yet it " is a very good expoſitor of the word in many caſes." *Conference at Whitehall.* The great defect in Oliver's ſpeeches conſiſts not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas. The ſagacity of his actions, and the abſurdity of his diſcourſe, form the moſt prodigious contraſt that ever was known. The collection of all his ſpeeches, letters, ſermons (for he alſo wrote ſermons), would make a great curioſity, and, with a few exceptions, might juſtly paſs for one of the moſt nonſenſical books in the world.

NOTE [F], p. 151.

AFTER Monk's declaration for a free parliament on the 11th of February, he could mean nothing but the king's reſtoration: Yet it was long before he would open himſelf even to the king. This declaration was within eight days after his arrival in London. Had he ever intended to have ſet up for himſelf, he would not ſurely have ſo ſoon abandoned a project ſo inviting: He would have taken ſome ſteps, which would have betrayed it. It could only have been ſome diſappointment, ſome fruſtrated attempt, which could have made him renounce the road of private ambition. But there is not the leaſt ſymptom of ſuch intentions. The ſtory told of ſir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, by Mr. Locke, has not any appearance of truth. See Lord Lanſdown's Vindication, and Philips's Continuation of Baker. I ſhall add to what thoſe authors have advanced, that cardinal Mazarine wiſhed for

the king's reſtoration; though he would not have ventured much to have procured it.

NOTE [G], p. 241.

THE articles were, that he had adviſed the king to govern by military power without parliaments, that he had affirmed the king to be a papiſt or popiſhly affected, that he had received great ſums of money for procuring the Canary patent and other illegal patents, that he had adviſed and procured divers of his majeſty's ſubjects to be impriſoned againſt law, in remote iſlands and garriſons, thereby to prevent their having the benefit of the law, that he had procured the cuſtoms to be farmed at under rates, that he had received great ſums from the Vintners' company, for allowing them to enhance the price of wines, that he had in a ſhort time gained a greater eſtate than could have been ſuppoſed to ariſe from the profits of his offices, that he had introduced an arbitrary government into his majeſty's plantations, that he had rejected a propoſal for the preſervation of Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's, which was the occaſion of great loſſes in thoſe parts, that when he was in his majeſty's ſervice beyond ſea, he held a correſpondence with Cromwel and his accomplices, that he adviſed the ſale of Dunkirk, that he had unduly altered letters patent under the king's ſeal, that he had unduly decided cauſes in council, which ſhould have been brought before chancery, that he had iſſued quo warrantos againſt corporations with an intention of ſqueezing money from them, that he had taken money for paſſing the bill of ſettlement in Ireland, that he betrayed the nation in all foreign treaties, and that he was the principal adviſer of dividing the fleet in June 1666.

NOTE [H], p. 267.

THE abſtract of the Report of the Brook-houſe committee (ſo that committee was called) was firſt publiſhed by Mr. Ralph, vol. i. p. 177. from lord Hallifax's collections, to which I refer. If we peruſe their apology, which

which we find in the ſubſequent page of the ſame author, we ſhall find that they acted with ſome malignity towards the king. They would take notice of no ſervices performed before the 1ſt of September 1664. But all the king's preparations preceded that date, and, as chancellor Clarendon told the parliament, amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds; and the computation is very probable. This ſum, therefore, muſt be added. The committee likewiſe charged ſeven hundred thouſand pounds to the king on account of the winter and ſummer guards, ſaved during two years and ten months that the war laſted. But this ſeems iniquitous. For though that was an uſual burden on the revenue, which was then ſaved; would not the diminution of the cuſtoms, during the war, be an equivalent to it? Beſides, near three hundred and forty thouſand pounds are charged for prize-money, which perhaps the king thought he ought not to account for. Theſe ſums exceed the million and a half.

NOTE [I], p. 274.

GOURVILLE has ſaid in his Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 14. 67. that Charles was never ſincere in the triple alliance; and that, having entertained a violent animoſity againſt de Wit, he endeavoured by this artifice to detach him from the French alliance, with a view of afterwards finding an opportunity to ſatiate his vengeance upon him. This account, though very little honourable to the king's memory, ſeems probable from the events, as well as from the authority of the author.

NOTE [K], p. 322.

SINCE the publication of this Hiſtory, the Author has had occaſion to ſee the moſt direct and poſitive evidence of this conſpiracy. From the humanity and candour of the Principal of the Scotch College at Paris, he was admitted to peruſe James the Second's Memoirs, kept there. They amount to ſeveral volumes of ſmall folio, all writ with that prince's own hand, and comprehending the remarkable incidents of his life, from his early youth

till

till near the time of his death. His account of the French alliance is as follows: The intention of the king and duke was chiefly to change the religion of England, which they deemed an eaſy undertaking, becauſe of the great propenſity, as they imagined, of the cavaliers and church party to popery: The treaty with Lewis was concluded at Verſailles in the end of 1669, or beginning of 1670, by lord Arundel of Wardour, whom no hiſtorian mentions as having had any hand in theſe tranſactions. The purport of it was, that Lewis was to give Charles 200,000 pounds a-year in quarterly payments, in order to enable him to ſettle the catholic religion in England; and he was alſo to ſupply him with an army of 6000 men in caſe of any inſurrection. When that work was finiſhed, England was to join with France in making war upon Holland. In caſe of ſucceſs, Lewis was to have the inland provinces, the prince of Orange Holland in ſovereignty, and Charles, Sluice, the Brille, Walkeren, with the reſt of the ſea-ports as far as Mazeland Sluice. The king's project was firſt to effect the change of religion in England; but the dutcheſs of Orleans, in the interview at Dover, perſuaded him to begin with the Dutch war, contrary to the remonſtrances of the duke of York, who inſiſted that Lewis, after ſerving his own purpoſes, would no longer trouble himſelf about England. The duke makes no mention of any deſign to render the king abſolute; but that was, no doubt, implied in the other project, which was to be effected entirely by royal authority. The king was ſo zealous a papiſt, that he wept for joy when he ſaw the proſpect of re-uniting his kingdom to the catholic church.

Sir John Dalrymple has ſince publiſhed ſome other curious particulars with regard to this treaty. We find, that it was concerted and ſigned with the privity alone of four popiſh counſellors of the king's, Arlington, Arundel, Clifford, and ſir Richard Bealing. The ſecret was kept from Buckingham, Aſhley, and Lauderdale. In order to engage them to take part in it, a very refined and a very mean artifice was fallen upon by the king. After the ſecret concluſion and ſignature of the treaty, the king pre-

pretended to these three ministers, that he wished to have a treaty and alliance with France for mutual support, and for a Dutch war; and when various pretended obstacles and difficulties were surmounted, a sham treaty was concluded with their consent and approbation, containing every article of the former real treaty, except that of the king's change of religion. However, there was virtually involved even in this treaty, the assuming of absolute government in England: For the support of French troops, and a war with Holland so contrary to the interests and inclinations of his people, could mean nothing else. One cannot sufficiently admire the absolute want of common sense, which appears throughout the whole of this criminal transaction. For if popery was so much the object of national horror, that even the king's three ministers, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, and such profligate ones too, either would not, or durst not, receive it, what hopes could he entertain of forcing the nation into that communion? Considering the state of the kingdom, full of veteran and zealous soldiers, bred during the civil wars, it is probable that he had not kept the crown two months after a declaration so wild and extravagant. This was probably the reason why the king of France and the French ministers always dissuaded him from taking off the mask, till the successes of the Dutch war should render that measure prudent and practicable.

NOTE [L], p. 357.

SIR John Dalrymple, in his Appendix, has given us, from Barillon's despatches in the secretary's office at Paris, a more particular detail of these intrigues. They were carried on with lord Russel, lord Hollis, lord Berkshire, the duke of Buckingham, Algernon Sidney, Montague, Bulstrode, col. Titus, sir Edward Harley, sir John Baber, sir Roger Hill, Boscawen, Littleton, Powle, Harbord, Hamden, sir Thomas Armstrong, Hotham, Herbert, and some others of less note. Of these, lord Russel and lord Hollis alone refused to touch any French money: All the others received presents or bribes from Baril-

Barillon. But we are to remark, that the party views of these men, and their well-founded jealousies of the king and duke, engaged them, independently of the money, into the same measures that were suggested to them by the French ambassador. The intrigues of France, therefore, with the parliament were a mighty small engine in the political machine. Those with the king, which have always been known, were of infinitely greater consequence. The sums distributed to all these men, excepting Montague, did not exceed 16,000 pounds in three years; and therefore could have little weight in the two houses, especially when opposed to the influence of the crown. Accordingly we find, in all Barillon's despatches, a great anxiety that the parliament should never be assembled. The conduct of these English patriots was more mean than criminal; and monsieur Courten says, that two hundred thousand livres employed by the Spaniards and Germans, would have more influence than two millions distributed by France. See sir J. Dalrymple's App. p. 111. It is amusing to observe the general, and I may say national, rage excited by the late discovery of this secret negotiation; chiefly on account of Algernon Sidney, whom the blind prejudices of party had exalted into a hero. His ingratitude and breach of faith, in applying for the king's pardon, and immediately on his return entering into cabals for rebellion, form a conduct much more criminal than the taking of French gold: Yet the former circumstance was always known, and always disregarded. But every thing connected with France is supposed, in England, to be polluted beyond all possibility of expiation. Even lord Russel, whose conduct in this negotiation was only factious, and that in an ordinary degree, is imagined to be dishonoured by the same discovery.

THE END OF VOL. IX.

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